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T H E
Royal Martyr :
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death
O F
K. Charles I.

Together with
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.
OR THE
Portraiture of His SACRED MAJESTY
in His Solitudes and Sufferings.

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THE
Royal History:
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death
OF
K. Charles I.

Together with
EIKON BAZILIKH
OR THE
POTTERING OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY
IN HIS SUNDAY AND SABBATH

AND OF HIS PRISON AND DEATH
AND OF HIS TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION
AND OF HIS BEHEADING
AND OF HIS BURIAL

TO THE
KINGS most Excellent MAJESTY
CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God KING of Great
Britain, France and Ireland, &c.

May it please Your MAJESTY,

SO Clear and Indisputable is Your
Majesties Title to the follow-
ing Papers, that to prefix any
other name before them, were a bold-
ness, next door to sacrilege. They
had the honour, when first published,
to attend the Works of Your Majesties
Royal Father of blessed Memory;
the greatest part of which Impression
(collected with great Cost and Care)
having in the late Conflagration pe-
rished in the common flames; I was
ambitious by reviving this Piece, to do

The Epistle Dedicatory.

some honour to the Memory of so Great a Prince, and that the world might see how far Truth and Justice and a better Cause is able to hold out, under the most prosperous Triumphs of violence and oppression, and that when Villains may be suffered so far to prevail, as to despoil Majesty of all advantages of Power and Greatness, it can at the same time be secure in the comforts of its own innocence and vertue. That Heaven would bless Your Majesty with a long Life and a prosperous Reign, with all the blessings of this, and a better world, is the hearty and incessant prayer of


Your Majesties

most humbly devoted

Subject and Servant,

Richard Roylton.

CHARLES R.

HARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition or Quality soever within Our Kingdoms of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, or any of Our Dominions greeting. Whereas We have received sufficient Testimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of Our Servant *Richard Royston* of Our City of *London* Book-seller, and of the great Losses and Troubles he hath sustained for his Faithfulness to Our Royal Father of blessed Memory, and Our Self, in the Printing and Publishing of many Messages and Papers of Our said Blessed Father, especially those most Excellent Discourses and Soliloquies by the name of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. Know ye, That it is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, and We do by these Presents Grant unto the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Messages, Papers and Discourses contained in the Book Intituled *Reliquiæ Sæcræ Carolinæ*, and of all or any other the Works of Our said Royal Father, with other

A 4 Paper.

The Priviledge.

Papers and Declarations concerning Our said Royal Father, in any Volume or Volumes whatsoever. Of which Our Grant and Royal Pleasure We will and require all Our loving Subjects to take notice; And that none of them presume to print, or cause to be printed, vended, or put to sale the said Book Intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, or any part of the said Papers or Works of Our said Royal Father, within these Our Realms and Dominions, or any of them, whether Printed within these Our Dominions, or Imported, from Foreign Parts, contrary to Our express Pleasure herein declared, without the Licence and Consent of the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, under such Penalties as are by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm imposed upon such Persons as Imprint, Import, Vend, or Put to sale unlicensed and prohibited Books; Any Privilege, Custome or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness, &c.

*Given at Our Court at White-Hall the nine
and twentieth day of November, in the
twelfth year of Our Reign.*



TO THE
READER.

IN these Papers, READER, thou' hast a short Account how this best of PRINCES Lived and Died; a Subject that was fit to be writ only with the point of a Scepter: none but a Royal Breast can have Sentiments equal to His Vertues, nor any but a Crowned Head can frame Expressions to represent His Worth. He that had nothing Common or Ordinary in His Life and Fortune, is almost profaned by a Vulgar Pen. The attempt, I confess, admits no Apologie but this, that it was fit that Posterity, when they read His Works (for they shall continue while these Islands are inhabited, to upbraid Time, and reproach Marble Monuments of weakness) should also be told that His Actions were as Heroick as His Writings, and His Life more Elegant than His Style. Which not being undertaken by some Noble hand, (that
was

To the Reader.

was happy in a near approach to Maieſty, and ſo could have taken more exact meaſures of this Great Example for Mighty Kings, rendered it in more full proportions, and given it more lively Colours) I was by importunity prevailed upon to imitate thoſe affectionate Slaves, who would gather up the ſcattered limbs of ſome great Perſon that had been their Lord, yet fell at the Pleaſure of his Enemies, burn them on ſome Plebeian Pyle, and entertain their aſhes in an homely Urn, till future times could cover them with a Pyramid, or incloſe them in a Temple; by making a Collection from Writers and Perſons worthy of Credit, of all the Remains and Memoires (I could get) of this Incomparable Monarch: Whoſe Excellent Vertues though they often tempted the Compiler to the Liberty of a Panegyrick, yet they ſtill perſwaded him to a ſtriſt obſervance of Truth as is due to an Hiſtory: For he praiſes this King beſt who writes His Life moſt faithfully, which was the Care and Endeavour of

Thine,

Rich. Perrinchief,

MAJESTY in MISERY:

O R,

An Imploration to the KING of Kings.

Written by his late Majesty King CHARLES
the First, during His Captivity at Caris-
brooke Castle, Anno Dom. 1648.

- (Power springs
1 GREAT Monarch of the World, from whose
The Potency and Power of Kings,
Record the Royal Woe, my Sufferings sings,
- 2 And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
Its faculties, in Truths Seraphick Line
To tract the treasons of thy foes and mine.
- 3 Nature and Law, by thy Divine Decree
(The only Root of Righteous Royaltie)
With this dim Diadem invested me,
- 4 With it, the sacred Scepter, Purple Robe,
The Holy Unction, and the Royal Globe :
Yet am I level'd with the life of Job.
- 5 The

Majesty in Misery.

- 5 *The fiercest Furies, that do daily tread
Upon my Grief, my Gray Dis-crowned head,
Are those, that owe my bounty for their bread.*
- 6 *They raise a War, and Christen it, The Cause,
Whilest sacrilegious hands have best applause,
Plunder, and Murther, are the kingdoms
(Laws.*
- 7 *Tyranny bears the Title of Taxation,
Revenge and Robbery are Reformation,
Oppression gains the name of Sequestration.*
- 8 *My Loyal Subjects who in this bad season
Attend me (by the Law of God and reason)
They dare impeach, and punish for high Treason.
(son.*
- 9 *Next at the Clergy, do their Furies frown,
Pious Episcopacy must go down,
They will destroy the Crozier, and the Crown.
(free'd,*
- 10 *Church-men are chain'd, and Schismaticks are
Mechanicks preach, and Holy Fathers bleed,
The Crown is crucified with the Creed.*
- 11 *The Church of England doth all faction foster,
The Pulpit is usurpt by each Impostor,
Ex tempore, excludes the Pater Noster.*
- 12 *The Presbyter and Independant Seed (bleed,
Springs with broad-blades; to make Religion
Herod, and Pontius Pilate are agreed.*
- 13 *The*

Majesty in Misery.

13. *The Corner-stone's misplac't by every Pavier;
With such a bloody method, and behaviour,
Their Ancestors did crucifie our Saviour.*
- 14 *My Royal Consort, from whose fruitful Womb
So many Princes legally have come,
Is forc't in Pilgrimage to seek a Tomb.*
- 15 *Great Britains Heir is forced into France,
Whilest on his father's head, his foes advance,
Poor Child! He weeps out his Inheritance.*
- 16 *With my own Power, my Majesty they wound;
In the King's name, the K. himself's uncrown'd:
So doth the dust, destroy the Diamond.*
- 17 *With Propositions daily they enchant
My Peoples ears, such, as do Reason daunt,
And the Almighty will not let me Grant.*
- 18 *They promise, to erect my Royal Stem,
To make me Great, t' advance my Diadem,
If I will first fall down, and worship them;*
- 19 *But for refusal they devour my Thrones,
Distress my Children, and destroy my bones,
I fear they'l force me, to make bread of stones.*
- 20 *My Life they prize at such a slender rate,
That in my absence, they draw bills of hate,
To prove the King, a Traytor to the State.*
- 21 *Felon s*

Majesty in Misery.

- 21 *Felons obtain more priviledge than I,
They are allow'd to answer, e're they dye,
'Tis death for Me, to ask the reason, Why.*
- 22 *But Sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to (do.
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they
(ted,*
- 23 *For since they from their Lord are so disjoin-
As to contemn those Edicts he appointed,
How can they prize the Power of his Anoin-
(ted?*
- 24 *Augment my Patience, nullifie my hate,
Preserve my Issue, and inspire my Mate,
Yet, though We perish, bless this Church and
(State.*
-
-

THE

THE
L I F E
O F
Charles I.

CHARLES I. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, was the Son of James VI. King of Scots, and Anne his Wife a Daughter of Denmark. By His Father descended to him all the Rights (together with their blood) of all our Ancient both Saxon and Norman Kings to this Empire. For the Lady Margaret, Sister and sole Heir of Edgar Atheling the last surviving Prince of the English Saxons, being married to Malcolme Connor King of Scots, conveyed to his Line the Saxon, and Margaret Daughter of Henry VII. married to James IV. did bring the Norman Titles and Blood. From this Imperial
Extract

Extract He received not more Honour than He gave to it. For the blood that was derived to Him elaborated through so many Royal veins, He delivered to Posterity more matured for Glory, and by a constant practice of Goodness more habituated for Vertue.

He was born at *Dunfermeling*, one of the principal Towns of *Fife* in *Scotland*, on November 19. [*Anno* 1600.] in so much weakness, that His Baptism was hastened without the usual Ceremonies wherewith such Royal Infants are admitted into the Church. Providence seeming to consecrate Him to Sufferings from the Womb, and to accustom Him to the exchange of the strictures of Greatness for clouds of Tears.

There was no observation nor augury made at His Birth concerning the sequel of His Life or course of Fortune (which are usually related of such whose lives have different occurrences from those in others of the same state.) Either the fear of His Death made those about Him less observant of any Circumstances which curious minds would have formed into a Prediction, He appearing like a Star that rises so near the point of his setting, that it was thought there would be no time for calculation.

Or

Or He being at distance by His Birth from the Succession to the Crown (Prince *Henry* then having the first hopes) made men less solicitous to enquire of His future state, on whom, being born to a private Condition, the Fate of the Kingdom did not depend.

But in the third year of His Age, when King *James* was preparing himself to remove to the *English* Throne, a certain *Laird* of the *Highlands*, though of very great age, came to the Court to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children. After his address full of affectionate and sage Advice (to which his gray hairs gave authority) to the King; his next application was to Duke *CHARLES* [*Anno* 1602.] (for in the second year of His Age He was created Duke of *Albany*, Marquess of *Ormond*, Earl of *Ross*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*) whose hands he kiss'd with so great an ardencie of affection, that he seemed forgetful of a separation. The King, to correct his supposed mistake, advised him to a more present observance of Prince *Henry*, as the Heir of his Crown, of whom he had taken little notice. The old *Laird* answered that he knew well enough what he did, and that *It was this Child* (who was then in His Nurses arms) *who should convey his name and memory to the succeeding ages.* This then was conceived dotage; but

the event gave it the credit of a Prophecie, and confirmed that opinion, *That some long-experienced souls in the world, before their dislodging, arrive to the height of prophetick Spirits.*

[Anno 1603.] When he was three years old He was committed to the Care and Governance of Sir Robert Cary's Lady, as a reward for being the first Messenger of Queen Elizabeth's death, whose long life had worn the expectation of the *Scotish Nobility* into a suspicion, *that the Lords of England would never acknowledge her to be dead, as long as there was any old Woman of that Nation that could wear good cloaths, and personate the Majesty of a Queen.*

[Anno 1604.] In the fourth year, after He had wrestled with a Feaver, He was brought in *October* to the *English Court at Windsor*, where on *January 6.* following, having the day before been made Knight of the *Bath*, He was invested with the Title of *Duke of York*, and in the sixth year [Anno 1606] was committed to the Pedagogy of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, a person well qualified to that Office, though a favourer of *Presbytery*.

Under this Tutor, and confined to a retirement by the present weakness of His body,
He

He was so diligent and studious, that He far advanced in all that kind of Learning which is necessary for a Prince, *without which even their natural Endowments seem rough and unpleasant in despite of the splendour of their fortune.* His proficiency in Letters was so eminent, that Prince Henry taking notice of it, to put a jest upon Him, one day put the Cap of the Archbishop *Abbot*, (who was then, with the Prince and the Duke and other of the Nobility, waiting in the Privy Chamber for the King's coming out) on his Brothers head; adding, that *If he continued a good Boy, and followed His Book, he would make Him one day Archbishop of Canterbury.* Which the Child took in such disdain, that He threw the Cap on the ground, and trampled it under His feet with so much eagerness, that he could hardly be restrained. Which Passion was afterwards taken by some overcurious as a preface of the ruine of Episcopacy by his Power. But the event shewed it was not ominous to the Order, but to the Person of the Archbishop, whom in His Reign He suspended from the administration of His Office.

[Anno 1611] In His eleventh year He was made Knight of the Garter: and in the twelfth Prince Henry dying November 6. [1612.] He succeeded him in the Dukedom of Cornwall and the Regalities thereof; and

attended his Funeral as chief Mourner, on
Decemb. 7.

On the 14. of *February* following He performed the Office of Brideman to the Princess *Elizabeth* His Sister, who on that day was married to *Frederick V. Prince Elector Palatine*; the gayeties of which day were afterwards attended with many fatal Cares and Expences.

His Childhood was blemished with a supposed Obstinacy: for the weakness of His body inclining Him to retirements, and the imperfections of His speech rendring discourse tedious and unpleasant, He was suspected to be somewhat perverse. But more age and strength fitting Him for manlike Exercises, and the Publick hopes inviting him from His Privacies, He delivered the World of such fears: for applying himself to action, He grew so perfect in Vaulting, riding the great Horse, running at the Ring, shooting in Cross-bows, Muskets, and sometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, that if Principality had been to be the reward of Excellency in those Arts, He would have had a Title to the Crown this way also; being thought the best Marks-man and most graceful Manager of the great Horse in the three Kingdoms. His tenacious humor he left with his retirements,
none

none being more desirous of good counsel, nor any more obsequious when He found it; yea, too distrustful of His own Judgment, which the issue of things proved always best when it was followed.

[Anno 1616.] When he was sixteen years old, on *Novemb. 3.* He was created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*, the Revenues thereof being assigned to maintain His Court which was then formed for Him. And being thus advanced in Years and State, it was expected that He should no longer retain the Modesty which the shades of His Privacy had accustomed Him unto, but now appear as the immediate Instrument of Empire, and that by Him the Favours and Honours of the Court should be derived to others. But though Providence had changed all about, yet it had changed nothing within Him; and He thought it glory enough to be great without the diminution of others; for he still permitted the Ministry of State to His Fathers Favourites: which gave occasion of discourse to the *Speculativi*.

"Some thought He did it to avoid the Jealousies of the Old King, (which were conceived to have been somewhat raised by the popularity of Prince *Henry*, whose breast was full of forward Hopes) For *Young Prin-*

"ces are deemed of an impatient Ambition,
 "and old ones to be too nice and tender of their
 "Power; in which though they are contented
 "with a Successor (as they must have) yet are
 "afraid of a Partner. And it was supposed
 "that therefore K. James had raised Car and
 "Buckingham, like Comets to dim the lustre
 "of these rising Stars. But these were mi-
 "staken in the nature of that King, who was
 "enclined to contract a private
 "friendship, and was prodigal to
 "the objects of it, before ever he
 "had Sons to divert his Love,
 "or raise his Fears.

"Some that at a distance looked upon the
 "Prince's actions, ascribed them to a Nar-
 "rowness of Mind; and an Incapacity of
 "Greatness: while others, better acquaint-
 "ed with the frame of His Spirit, knew His
 "prudent Modesty inclined Him to learn the
 "Methods of Commanding by the practice
 "of Obedience; and that being of a peaceful
 "Soul, He affected not to embroil the Court
 "(and from thence the Kingdom) in Facti-
 "ons (the effects of impotent minds) which
 "He knew were dangerous to a State, and
 "destructive to that Prince who gives birth
 "unto them; that therefore He chose to
 "wait for a certain, though delayed, Gran-
 "deur, rather than by the Compendious way
 of

“ of Contrasts get a precocious Power, and
 “ leave too pregnant an Example of Ruine.

“ Others conceived it the Prudence of the
 “ Father (with which the Son complied) who
 “ knew the true use of Favourites was to
 “ make them the objects of the People’s im-
 “ patience, the sinks to receive the curses and
 “ anger of the Vulgar, the hatred of the que-
 “ rulous, and the envy of unsatisfied ambi-
 “ tion : which He would rather have fall up-
 “ on Servants, that his Son might ascend the
 “ Throne free and unburthened with the dis-
 “ contents of any. This was the rather believ-
 “ ed, because He could dispense Honours
 “ where and when He pleased ; as he did to
 “ some of His own Household ; as Sir Robert
 “ Cary was made Lord Cary of *Lepington*, Sir
 “ Thomas Howard Viscount *Andover*, and Sir
 “ John Vaughan Lord of *Molingar* in Ireland.

[*Anno 1618.*] The evenness of His Spirit
 was discovered in the loss of his Mother,
 whose death (presaged, as some thought, by
 that notorious Comet which appeared No-
 vemb. 18. before) happened on March 2.
Anno 1618. which he bewailed with a just
 measure of Grief, without any affected Sor-
 rows, though She was most affectionate to Him
 above all her other Children ; and at her
 Funeral He would be chief Mourner.

The Death of the Queeu was not long after followed with a sharp Sickness of the King: wherein his Life seeming in danger, the consequences of his Death began to be lamented. "Dr. *Andrews*, then Bishop of *Ely*, bewailed the sad condition of the Church, "if God should at that time determine the days "of the King. The Prince being then only "conversant with Scotch-men, which made up "the greatest part of his Family, and were ill- "affected to the Government and Worship of the "Church of England. Of this the King became so sensible, that he made a Vow, "If God "should please to restore his health, he would so "instruct the Prince in the Controversies of Religion, as should secure His affections to the present establishment. Which he did with so much success, as he assured the Chaplains who were to wait on the Prince in Spain, that He was able to moderate in any emergent disputations (which yet he charged them to decline, if possible.) At which they smiling, he earnestly added, "That CHARLES "should manage a point in Controversie with "the best-studied Divine of them all.

[Anno 1619.] In his 19. Year, on March 24. which was the Anniversary of King *James's* coming to the Crown of England, He performed a Justing at *White-Hall*, together with

CHARLES I. II

with several of the Nobility, wherein He acquitted Himself with a Bravery equal to His Dignity. And on the *Sunday* following, attending his Father to the Sermon at *St Paul's* Cross, and to the Service in the Quire, He shewed as much humble Devotion there, as he had manifested Princely Gallantry in his Justs, admired and applauded by the People for His accomplishments in the Arts both of War and Peace: That he could behave Himself humbly towards his God, and bravely towards His Enemy; pleased with the hardiness of His Body, and ravished with His more generous Mind; that the pleasures of the Court had not softened one to Sloth, nor the supreme Fortune debauched the other to Impiety.

[*Anno 1622.*] Confident in these, and other evidences of a wise conduct, the King (without acquainting his Council) sends the Prince into *Spain*, there to contract a Marriage with the *Infanta*, and as a part of the Portion, to recover the *Palatinate*, which His Sisters Husband had lost, and was by the *Emperour* canted to the *Duke of Bavaria* and the *King of Spain*. And herein He was to combat all the Artists of State in that Court, the practices of that Church, and put an issue to that Treaty wherein the Lord *Digby*, though much conversant in the Intrigues of that Council, had been long cajoled.

To

To that place He was to pass *Incognito*, accompanied only with the Marquess of Buckingham, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington, through France, where, to satisfy His Curiosity, and shew Himself to Love, He attempted and enjoyed a view of the Court at *Paris*, and there received the first Impression of that Excellent Princess who was, by Heaven destined to His chaste embraces. Satisfied with that sight, no lesser enjoyments of any pleasure in that great Kingdom, nor Vainness of Youth, which is hardly curbed when it is allied to power, could tempt His stay, or a discovery of His Greatness; but with a speed answerable to an active body and mind, He out-stripped the French Posts which were sent to stop Him, although that King had intelligence of His being within his Dominions immediately after their departure from the *Louvre*.

The certain news of His safe arrival at *Madrid* drew after Him from hence a Princely Train, and raised the Censures of the World upon the King; "As being too forgetful of
"the Inhospitallity of Princes to each other,
"who, when either Design, Tempests or Necessity have driven their Rivals in Majesty
"upon their Coasts without a Caution, they
"let them not part without some tribute to
"their

“ their Interest : and a fresh example of this
 “ was in the King’s own Mother, who seeking refuge in *England* with her Sister Queen
 “ *Elizabeth* from a Storm at home, did lose
 “ both her Liberty and Life.

This none daring to mind the King of, his Jester *Archee* made him sensible, by telling him, *He came to change Caps with him. Why, said the King? Because (replied Archee) Thou hast sent the Prince into Spain, from whence He is never like to return. But (said the King) what wilt thou say when thou seest Him come back again? Marry, says the Jester, I will take off the Fools Cap which I now put upon thy Head for sending Him thither, and put it on the King of Spain’s for letting Him return.*

This so awakened the King’s apprehension of the Prince’s danger, that it drove him into an exceeding Melancholy, from which he was never free till he was assured of the Prince’s return to his own Dominions, which was his Fleet in the Sea: and that was not long after. For notwithstanding the contrasts of his two prime Ministers there, *Buckingham* and *Bristol*, (which were sufficient to amaze an ordinary prudence, and disturb the counsels of so young a beginner in the Mysteries of Empire, and the Arts of experienced Conclaves;) the impetuous attempts of the
Spanish

Spanish Clergy, either for a Change of His Religion, or a Toleration of theirs; the Spleen of *Olivares*, whom *Buckingham* had exasperated; He so dexterously managed the Treaty of Marriage, that all the Articles and Circumstances were solemnly sworn to by both Kings. By a Civil Letter to the Pope (which His Enemies Malice afterwards took as an occasion of Slander) He procured a civil return, with the grant of a Dispensation; baffled the hopes of their Clergy by His Constancy in his own Profession, and vindicated it from the odious aspersions of their Priests, by causing our Liturgie to be translated into the *Spanish* Tongue; and by His generous miene enthralled the *Infanta*, for whom He had exposed His Liberty.

Yet having an insight into the practices of that Court, that they would not put the Restitution of the *Palatinate* into the consideration of the Portion, but reserve it as a Superfection of the *Spanish* Love, and as an opportunity for the *Infanta* to reconcile the *English* Spirits, who were heated by the late Wars into an hatred of the *Spaniards*; and that this was but to lengthen out the Treaty till they had wholly brought the *Palatinate* under their power; He conformed His mind to the resolves of His Father, who said, *He would never marry his Son with a Portion of his*

His only Sisters Tears, and therefore inclined to a rupture. But concealing His Purpose, and dissembling His Knowledge of their Designs, He consulted His own Safety and Return, which his Fathers Letters commanded : which he so prudently acquired, that the King of *Spain* parted from Him with all those endearments with which departing Friends ceremoniate their Farewels ; having satisfied Him by a Proxie left with the Earl of *Bristol*, to be delivered when the Dispensation was come. Which as soon as He was safe on Ship-board, by a private express he commanded him to keep in his hands till further Order.

[*Anno 1623.*] His Return to *England*, which was in *October 1623.* was entertain'd with so much Joy and Thanksgiving, as if He had been the happy *Genius* of the whole Nation ; and His entrance into *London* was as a Triumph for His Wisdom, their Bonfires lengthened out the day, and their Bells by uncessant ringing forbad sleep to those eyes which were refreshed with His sight. Nor could the People by age or sickness be confined at home, but despising the prescriptions of their Physicians, went to meet Him as restored Health.

When He had given the King an account of His Voyage, and the *Spanish* Counsels not
to

to restore the *Palatinate*, a *Parliament* was Summoned, which was so zealous of the Honour of the Prince, that both Houses Voted an Address to his Majesty, that he would no longer Treat, but begin a War with *Spain*; and desiring the Prince's Mediation (who was always ready to gratifie the Nation) therein to His Father, they assured Him they would stand by Him with their Lives and Fortunes: but yet when the War, with the Crown, descended unto him, they shamefully deserted Him in the beginning of His Reign.

When neither a Wife nor Peace was any longer to be expected from *Spain*, both were sought for from *France*, by a Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, the youngest Daughter of *Henry* the IV. The Love of whom the Prince had received by the Eye, and She of Him by the Ear. For having formerly received impressions from the Relations of His Gallantry; when She was told of His passing through *Paris*, She answered (as it is reported) That if he went to Spain for a Wife, He might have had one nearer hand, and saved Himself a great part of the labour.

[*Anno* 1625.] In the midst of these Preparations for War and Love, King *James* died at *Theobalds*, Sunday March 27. *Anno* 1625. and Prince CHARLES was immediately proclaimed

proclaimed at the Court-Gate *King of Great Britain, France and Ireland*, and so throughout all the Three Kingdoms, with infinite Rejoycings. The People expecting all the benefits of the happiest Government under Him, whose private and youthful part of Life had been so spent, that it had nothing in it to be excused, and where the eager inquisitors for matter of Reproach met with no satisfaction. An Argument of a solid Virtue, that could hold out against all the *Vices of Youth, that are rendred more impetuous by Flatteries and Plenty, which are continually resident in great Courts*. For had any debauchery polluted His earlier days, it had been published by those who in scarcity of just Accusations did invent unimaginable Calumnies. Nor could it have been hid, for *in a great Fortune nothing is concealed, but Curiosity opens the Closets and Bed-chambers, especially of Princes, and discovers their closest retirements, exposing all their actions to Fame and Censure*. Nor did the King deceive their hopes, they being the happiest People under the Sun while He was undisturbed in the administration of Justice.

His first publick Act was the Celebrating His Fathers Funeral, whereat He Himself was Chief Mourner, (contrary to the Practice of His Royal Predecessors, and not conformable

able to the Ceremonies of State;) Either preferring Piety to an unnatural Grandeur; or urged by some secret Decree of Providence, that in all the ruines of His Family He should drink the greatest draught of Tears; or His Spirit presaging the Trouble of the Throne, He would hallow the Ascent to it by a pious act of Grief.

When He had pay'd that debt to His deceased Father, He next provided for posterity, and therefore hastened the coming over of his dearest Consort, whom the Duke of *Chevereux* had in His Name espoused at the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*; and He receiving Her at *Dover* the next day after *Trinity-Sunday*; at *Canterbury* began His Conjugal Embraces. A Lady of most excellent Endowments, who assumed to Her self nothing in His Good Fortune but the Joy; and in His Evil bore an equal share, for She revered Him, not His Greatness.

Thus having dispatched the affairs of His Family, He applies Himself to those of His Kingdoms, which too much Felicity had made unmanageable by a moderate Government. And He seemed not so much to ascend a Throne, as enter upon a Theatre, to wrestle with all the difficulties of a corrupted State; whose long Peace had softened almost all the

Nobles

Nobles into Court pleasures, and made the Commons insolent by a great plenty. The Rites and Discipline of Religion had been blotted out by a long and uninterrupted Prosperity, and Factions crept from the Church into the Senate, which were made use of by those that endeavoured the alteration of Government; and the Resolves of that Council were the dictates of some heady Demagogues, who fed the Vulgar with hopes of Novelty under the name of Liberty, so that the King could not endure their Vices, nor they His Vertues: whence came all the Obstructions to His Designs for Glory and the Publick Good. The Treasury had been exhausted to satiate the unquiet and greedy Scots: and the People were taught not to supply it, unless they were bribed with the blood of some Minister of State, or some more advantages for Licentiousness. Each of these single would have ennobled the Care of an Ordinary Prudence to have weathered out: but when all these conspired with the traiterous Projects of men of unbounded and unlawful hopes, they took from Him His Peace, and that which the World calls Happiness; but yet they made Him Great, and affording Exercises for His most excellent Abilities rendred Him Glorious.

The different states of these Difficulties,
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when like Clouds they were gathering together, and when they descended in showres of Blood, divide the King's Reign into two parts. The first could not be esteemed days of Peace, but an Immunity from Civil War. The other was when He was concluded by that Fatal Necessity, either to part with his Dignity, and expose His Subjects to the injuries of numerous Tyrants; or else to exceed the calmer temper of His peaceful Soul, and make use of those necessary Arms, whereby He might hope to divert, if possible, the Ruine of Church and State which he saw in projection.

In the first Part He had no Wars at home but what was in the Houses of Parliament; which though their first Institution designed for the production of just Counsels, and assistances of Government, yet, through the just Indignation of Heaven, and the practices of some unquiet and seditious persons, became the wombs wherein were first conceived and formed those monstrous Confusions which destroyed their own Liberty, caused our Miseries, and the King's Afflictions.

His first Parliament began *June* 18. At the opening of which the *King* acquainted them with the necessity of Supplies for the War with *Spain*, which they importunately had
through

through His Mediation engaged His Father in, and made it as hereditary to him as the Crown. His Eloquence gave powerful Reasons for speedy and large summs of Money; did also audit to them the several disbursements relating both to the Army and Navy, that He might remove all Jealousies of mis-employment, and give them notice how well He understood the Office He had newly entered upon, and how to be a faithful Steward of the Publick Treasure. But the Projectors of the alteration of Government brought into Debate two Petitions, one for Religion, the other for Grievances, formed in King *James's* time, which delayed the Succours, and increased the Necessities, which at last they answered but with two Subsidies, too poor a stock to furnish an Army with; yet was kindly accepted, in expectation of more at the next Session. For the Infection seizing upon *London*, the Parliament was adjourned till *August*, when they were to meet at *Oxford*: and at that time He passed such Acts as were presented to Him.

At the next Session He gave a complying and satisfactory answer to all their Petitions, and expected a Retribution in larger Subsidies towards the *Spanish* War. But instead of these, there were high and furious debates of Grievances, consultations to form and
C 2 publish

publish Remonstrances, Accusations of the *Duke of Buckingham*: Which the King esteeming as reproaches of His Government, and assaults upon Monarchy, dissolves that Assembly, hoping to find one of a less cholerick complexion after His Coronation.

This inauspicious Meeting drew after it another Mischiefe, the Miscarriage of the Designs upon *Spain*. For the supplies of Money being scanty and slow, the Fleet could not go out till *October 8*. an unseasonable time in the *British Seas*; and their first contest was with Winds and Tempests, which destroying some, scattered all the Ships. When they met, a more dangerous storm fell among the Soldiers and Seamen, where small Pay caused less Discipline, and a contempt of their General, the Lord *Wimbleton*, rendred the attempt upon *Cades* vain and fruitless. This was followed by a Contagion (to which some conceive discontented minds make the bodies of men more obnoxious) in the Navy, which forced it home, more empty of Men, and less of Reputation.

The Infection decreasing at *London*, the King performed the Solemnities of His Coronation *February 2*. with some alterations from those of His Predecessors: for in the Civil He omitted the usual Parade of Riding from

from the *Tower* through the City to *White-Hall*, to save the Expences that Pomp required; for more noble undertakings. In the Spiritual there was restored a Clause in the Prayers which had been pretermitted since *Henry VI.* and was this; *Let Him obtain favour for this People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple; give Him Peter's Key of Discipline, Paul's Doctrine.* Which though more agreeing to the Principles of *Protestantism*, which acknowledgeth the Power of Princes in their Churches, and was therefore omitted in the times of Popery; yet was quarreled at by the Factious party, (who take advantages of Calumny and Sedition from good as well as bad circumstances) and condemned as a new invention of Bishop *Laud*, and made use of to defame both the King and him.

After this He began a second Parliament *February 2.* wherein the Commons voted Him Four Subsidies, but the Demagogues intended them as the price of the Duke of *Buckingham's* blood; whom *Mr. Cooke* and *Dr. Turner* with so much bitterness inveighed against, as passing the modesty of their former dissimulation they taxed the King's Government. *Sir Dudley Digges*, *Sir John Elliot* and others carried up Articles against him to the Lord's
C 3 House,

House, in which, to make the Faction more sport, the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol* did mutually impeach each other. By these contrasts the Parliament were so highly heated, that the Faction thought it fit time to put a *Remonstrance* in the forge, which according to their manner was to be a publick Invektive against the Government. But the *King* having notice of it, dissolves the Parliament *June 18.* [*Anno 1626.*] and the Bill for the Subsidies never passed.

This misunderstanding at home produced another War abroad. For the King of *France* taking advantage of these our Domestick embroilments begins a War upon us, and seiserth upon the *English* Merchant Ships in the River of *Bordeaux*. His pretence was, because the *King* had sent back all the *French* Servants of the Queen, whose insolencies had been intolerable. But the world saw the vanity of this pretext in the Example of *Lewis* himself, who had in the like manner dimitted the *Spanish* attendants of his own Queen: and that truly the unhappy Counsels in Parliament had exposed this Just Prince to foreign injuries. Which He magnanimously endeavoured to revenge, and to recover the goods of His abused Subjects; and therefore sent the Fleet designed for Justice upon *Spain* to seek it first in *France*. But the want of Money made the Preparations

Preparations slow; and therefore the Navy putting out late in the year was by Storms forced to desist the enterprize. So that what was the effect only of the malice of His Enemies, was imputed by some to a secret Decree of Heaven, which obstructed His just undertakings for Glory.

[Anno 1627.] The next year the *King*, quickened by the Petitions of the *Rochellers*, who now sued for His Protection, as well as by the Justice of His own Cause, more early prosecuted His Counsels, and sent the Duke of *Buckingham* to attack the Isle of *Rhee*; which though alarmed to a greater strength by the last year's vain attempt, yet had now submitted to the *English* Valour, had not the Duke managed that War more with the Gayeties of a Courtier than the Arts of a Souldier. And when it was wisdom to forsake those attempts which former neglects had made impossible, being too greedy of Honour, and to avoid the imputation of fear in a safe retreat, he loaded his overthrow with a new Ignominy, and an heavier loss of men, (the common fate of those *Who seek for glory in the parcels, lose it in the gross.*) Which was contrary to the temper of his Master, who was so tender of humane blood, that therefore He raised no Wars, but sound them; and thought it *an opprobrious bargain to purchase*

the fruitless Laurels, or the empty name of Honour, with the lives of men, but where the Publick Safety required the hazzard and loss of some particulars.

This Expedition being so unhappy, and the Miseries of *Rochel* making them importunate for the *King's* Assistance, His Compassionate Soul was desirous to remove their Dangers, but was restrained by that necessitous condition the Faction had concluded Him under. To free Himself from which, that He might deliver the oppressed, He doth pawn His own Lands for 120000 pounds to the *City*, and borrows 30000 pounds more of the *East-India* Company: but this was yet too narrow a Foundation to support the charges of the Fleet, and no way so natural to get adequate supplies as by a Parliament; which He therefore summons to meet *March* 17. intending to use all Methods of Complacency to unite the Subjects Affections to Himself.

Which in the beginning proved successful, for the modesty of the Subjects strove with the Piety of the *King*, and both Interests contended to oblige, that they might be obliged. The Parliament granted the *King* [*Anno* 1628.] five Subsidies, and He freely granted their Petition of Right, the greatest Condescension

Condescension that ever any *King* made, wherein He seemed to submit the Royal Scepter to the Popular *Fasces*, and to have given Satisfaction even to Supererogation.

These auspicious beginnings, though full of Joy both to Prince and People, were matter of envy to the Faction; and therefore to form new Discontents and Jealousies, the Demagogues perswaded the Houses that the *King's* Grant of their Petition extended, (beyond their own Hopes and the Limits themselves had set, and what he had expressly mentioned and cautioned) even to the taking away His Right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Besides this, they were again hammering a *Remonstrance* to reproach Him and His Ministers of male-administration. Which Ingratitude He being not able to endure, on *June* 26. adjourns the Parliament till *Octob.* 20. and afterward by Proclamation till *Jan.* 20. following.

In the interim, the *King* hastens to send succours to *Rochel*: and though the General, the Duke of *Buckingham*, was at *Portsmouth* Assassinated by *Felton*, armed (as he professed) with the publick hatred; yet the Preparations were not slackned, the *King* by His personal industry doing more to the necessary furnishing of the Fleet in ten or twelve days than the Duke had done in so many

many months before. But in the mean while *Rochel* was barricadoed to an impossibility of Relief. Therefore the Earl of *Lindsey*, who commanded the Forces, after some gallant, yet fruitless attempts returned to *England*, and the *Rochellers* to the Obedience of the *French King*.

As Providence had removed the great Object of the Popular hate, and (as was pretended) the chief obstruction of the Subjects Love to their *King*, the Duke of *Buckingham*; so the *King* himself labours to remove all other occasions of quarrel before the next Session. He restores Archbishop *Abbot*, who for his remissness in the Discipline of the Church had been suspended from his Office, and was therefore the Darling of the Commons because in disgrace with the *King* (so contrary are the affections of a corrupted State to those of their Governours) to the administration of it again. Dr. *Potter*, the great Calvinist, was made Bishop of *Carlisle*. Mr. *Mountague's* Book of *Appello Cesarem* was called in. Proclamations were issued out against Papists. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, an active Leader of the Commons, was towards the beginning of this Session, as Sir *John Savil* had been at the end of the last, called up into the Lord's House, being made Viscount *Wentworth*, and Lord President of the North.

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But the Honours of these Persons (whose parts the *King*, who well understood men, thought worthy of his Favour and Employment) seeming the rewards of Sedition, and the spoils of destructive Counsels, the Demagogues were more eager in the pursuit of that which these had attained unto, by the like Arts. And therefore despising all the *King's* obliging practices, in the next Sessions they assumed a power of reforming Church and State, called the Customers into question for Levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, made now their Invectives, as they formerly did against the Duke, against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*; so that it appeared that not the persons of men, but the *King's* trust of them, was the object of their Envy, and His Favour, though never so Vertuous, marked them out for Ruine. And upon these points they raised the heat to such a degree, that fearing they should be dissolved ere they had time to vent their passions, they began a Violence upon their own Body (an example which lasted longer than their Cause, and at last produced the overthrow of all their Priviledges.) They lockt the Doors of the House, kept the Key thereof in one of their own Pockets, held the Speaker by strong hand in the Chair, till they had thundered out their Votes, like dreadful *Anathemates*, against those that should
Levy,

Levy, and, which was more ranting, against such as should willingly pay the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. This Force the *King* went with His Guard of Pensioners to remove; which they hearing, adjourned the House; and the *King* in the House of Lords declaring the Injustice of those Vipers who destroyed their own Liberties, dissolved the Parliament.

While the winds of Sedition raged thus furiously at home, more gentle gales came from abroad. The *French King's* designs upon other places required Peace from us, and therefore the Signiorie of *Venice* by her Ambassadors was moved to procure an Accord betwixt *Charles* and *Lewis*; which the *King* accepted. And not long after [*Anno 1629*] the *Spaniard* pressed with equal necessities desired Amity; which was also granted. The *King* being thus freed from his domestick Embroilments and foreign Enmities, soon made the World see His Skill in the Arts of Empire, and rendred Himself abroad more considerable than any of His Predecessors. And He was more glorious in the eyes of the good, and more satisfied in His own breast, by confirming Peace with Prudence, than if He had finished Wars with destroying Arms. So that His Scepter was the *Caduceus* to arbitrate the differences of the Potentates of *Europe*. His Subjects likewise tasted the sweet-

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ness of a Reign which Heaven did indulge with all its favours, but only that of valuing their Happiness. While other Nations weltered in blood, His people enjoyed a profound Peace, and that Plenty which the freedom of Commerce brings along with it. The *Dutch* and *Easterlings* used *London* as the surest Bank to preserve and increase their Trading. The *Spanish* Bullion was here Coined, which advantaged the *King's* Mint, and increased the Wealth of the Merchants, who returned most of that Money in our native Commodities.

While He dispensed these Blessings to the People, Heaven was liberal to Him in giving Him a Son to inherit his Dominions, *May 29.* [*Anno 1630.*] which was so great matter of rejoycing to the People of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven seemed also concerned in the Exultation, kindling another Fire more than Ordinary, making a *Star* to be seen the same day at noon. (From which most men presaged that that Prince should be of high Undertakings, and of no common glory among Kings: which hath since been confirmed by the miraculous preservation of Him, and Heaven seemed to conduct Him to the Throne.) For this great blessing the *King* gave publick Thanks to the Author of it, Almighty God, at *St. Paul's Church*; and
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God was pleased in a return to those thanks with a numerous Issue afterwards to increase this Happiness. *For neither Armies nor Navies are such sure props of Empire as Children are. Time, Fortune, private Lusts, or Errors may take off, or change Friends: But those that Nature hath united must have the same Interest, especially in Royal Families, in whose Prosperities strangers may have a part, but their Adversities will be sure to crush their nearest Allies.*

Prospering thus in Peace at home, a small time assisted His frugality to get such a Treasure, and gave Him leisure to form such Counsels as might curb the Insolence of His Enemies abroad. He confederated with other Princes to give a check to the *Austrian* Greatness, assisting by His Treasure, Arms and Counsel, the King of *Sweden*, to deliver the oppressed *German* States from the Imperial Oppressions. And when *Gustavus's* fortune made him insolent, and he would impose unequal Conditions upon the *Paltgrave*, the King's Brother-in-Law, He necessitated him notwithstanding his Victories to more easy Articles.

The next year was notorious for two Trials: one of the Lord *Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*, who being accused by all the abused parts of his Family of a prodigious wickedness
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and unnatural uncleanness, was by the *King* submitted to a tryal by his Peers, and by them being found Guilty, was Condemned, and his Nobility could be no patronage for his Crimes; (but in the *King's* eyes they appeared more horrid, because they polluted that Order) and was afterwards executed.

The other was of a tryal of Combat at a Marshal's Court, betwixt *Donnold Lord Rey*, a *Scottish High-lander*, and *David Ramsay* a *Scottish Courtier*. "The first accused the
"last to have solicited him to a Confederacy
"with the Marquess *Hamilton*, who was then
"Commander of some Forces in assistance of
"the *King of Sweden*: in which *Ramsay* said
"all *Scotland* was engaged but three; and
"that their friends had gotten provision of
"Arms and Powder out of *England*; that
"the Court was extremely corrupted; and
"that the matters of Church and State were
"so out of frame as must tend to a Change.

There were no Witnesses, and the Defendant denying what the Appellant affirmed, the Tryal was thought must be by Duel. In order to which the *King* grants a Commission for a Court-Marshal: where though the presumptions of *Ramsay's* guilt were more heightned, yet the *King* hinders any further process by Combat, which is doubted whether

ther it be lawful ; either thinking none so foolish as to strive for Empire which He found so full of Trouble ; or knowing that *Magistracy being the sole Gift of Heaven, it was vain to commit a crime in hope of enjoying it, or in fear of losing it :* (which was the Principle upon which Excellent Princes have neglected the diligent Inquisition of Conspiracies) and fatally continues *Hamilton* in that favour as did enable him afterwards more easily to act that Treason of which he was then accused.

[*Anno 1632.*] Some Tumults in *Ireland* shewed a defect in that Government, which made the *King* send over as Deputy thither the Lord *Wentworth*, a most accomplished Person in affairs of Rule, of great Abilities equal to a Minister of State. The *King's* choice of him he soon justified, by reducing that tumultuary people to such a condition of Peace and security as it had never been since its first annexion to this Crown, and made it pay for the Charges of its own Government, which before was deducted out of the *English* Treasury : their Peace and Laws now opening accesses for Plenty.

This enjoyment of Peace and Plenty through all the *King's* Dominions made him mindful of employing some fruits of it to the Honour

Honour of that God that caused it; and not to let so great a Prosperity wholly corrupt the minds of men to a neglect of Religion, (which is usual) He shewed His own Zeal for the Ornaments of it, and spent part of His Treasure towards the repair of St. Paul's Church, and by His Example, Admonitions and Commands drew many of His Subjects to a Contribution for it; and had restored it to its primitive lustre and firmness, adorned it to a magnificence equal with the Structure, which is supposed the goodliest in the Christian World, had not the Malice of His Enemies forced Him to Arms, mingled His Morter with the blood of innocent people, and sacrilegiously diverted all the Treasure and Materials gathered for this pious design, to maintain an impious and unjust War: and afterwards to dishonour His Cares for Religion, they barbarously made it a Stable for their Horse, and Quarters for their unhallowed Foot.

[Anno 1633.] Some Reasons of State drew the King from London, May 13. to receive the Imperial Crown of Scotland. Himself professed that He had no great Stomach to the Journey, nor delight in the Nation, being a Race of men, that under the Scheme of an honest animosity and specious plain-dealing were most perfidious. A full Character of their
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great Movers. Yet as he had been nobly treated all along His Journey by the *English Nobility*, so was He there magnificently received and crowned at *Edinburgh*, *June 10*. But the King soon found all those *Careless* false. For the Nobility and Laick Patrons could not concoct His *Revocation* (though legal and innocent) of such things as had been stolen from the Crown during His Father's Minority, with a Commission for *Surrendry of Superiorities and Tithes* to be retaken from the King by the present Occupants (who could as then pretend no other Title than the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors) on such conditions as might bring some Profit to the Crown, (to which they justly belonged) some Augmentation to the Clergy, and for more ease and benefit to the Common People, whom by advantage of those illegal Tenures they oppressed with a most bitter Vassalage. This Act of His Majesty being so full of equity and publick good, those whose greatness was builded upon Injustice did not bare-facedly oppose it, but endeavoured to hinder that and all the other designs of Peace and Order, by opposing in the Parliament next after the Coronation the Act of *Ratification* of all those Laws which King James had made in that Nation for the better regulating the affairs of that Church, both as to the Government and Worship of it.

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This was highly opposed by such as were sensible of their diminution by a legal restitution of their unrighteous Possessions. And although the King carried it by the major part of Voices; yet to prevent their own fires with the publick Ruine, they did most assiduouſly slander it among the People as the abetting of *Popery*, and the betraying their Spiritual Liberty to the *Romish* yoke. These Calumnies received more credit by the King's Order for a more Decent and Reverend Worship of God at his Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh*, conformably to the *English* Usage.

Their noise grew louder by the Consent of their party of *Malecontents* in *England*, who also took advantage to diffuse their poison from the King's Book of Sports, which King *JAMES* had in his time published in *Lancashire*, and was now ratified by King *CHARLES* for a more universal Observance. The Occasion of which was the Apostasie of many to *Popery*, (whose Doctrines and Practices are more indulgent to the licentious) through the rigid opinion of some Preachers, who equall'd all Recreations on the Sabbath (as they call'd it) to the most prodigious transgressions. On the contrary, some of the Ignorant Teachers had perverted many to downright *Judaism*, by the consequence

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quence of so strict an Observance of the Sabbath. And some over-busie Justices of Peace had suppressed all the Ancient Feasts of the *Dedications* of Churches. The King therefore intended by this edict to obstruct the success of the Enemies on both sides, and to free His People from the yoke of this Superstition. But (*such is the weakness of Humane Prudence, that the Remedies it applies to one Inconvenience are pregnant of another; and whereas the generality of men seldom do good but as necessitated by Law, when Liberty is indulged, all things are soon filled with Disorder and Confusion.* And so) it happened in this, that the Vulgar abusing the King's Liberty, (which was no more than is granted in other Protestant Churches) and committing many undecencies, made many well-temper'd Spirits too capable and credulous of those importunate Calumnies of the Faction, that His Majesty was not well-affected to Religion.

[*Anno 1634.*] The boldness of the *Pickeroons*, *Turks*, and *Dunkirk-Pirates* infesting our Coasts, damaging our Traffique, the usurpation of the *Holland Fishers* on the King's Dominion in the narrow Seas, and His Right disputed in a Tract by the Learned *Grotius*, call the King's next Cares for His own Honour, and the People's Safety. But the Remedy appeared exceeding difficult; the furnishing

nothing of a Navy for so honourable an undertaking being too heavy a burden for His Exchequer; which (although not emptied by any luxuriant Feasts, nor profusely wasted on some prodigal and unthrifty Favourite, nor lavished on ambitious designs, from all which destructions of Treasure no King was more free) was but just sufficient for ordinary and necessary Expences of State and Majesty. And though it was most just for Him to expect the Peoples Contribution to their own Safety, who were never richer than now, nor had they ever more Security for their riches than they now had by His Concessions of Liberty: yet knowing how powerful the Faction always was to disturb the Counsels of Parliament, He feared that from their Proceedings the Common Enemies would be encouraged (as formerly) to higher Insolencies, and the envious Demagogues would condemn their own safety to ruine His Honour. He also accounted it a great unhappiness to be necessitated to maintain His State by extraordinary ways, and therefore refused to renew *Privy Seals* and *Loans*, the use of which He debarred Himself of in granting the Petition of Right. Therefore consults His Attorney-General *Noy*, whether the *Prerogative* had yet any thing left to save an unwilling people. *Noy* acquaints Him with *Ancient Precedents of raising a Tax upon the Nation for set-*

ting forth a Navie in case of danger, and assures Him of the Legality of the way in proceeding by Writs to that effect. Which Counsel being embraced, there were Writs directed to the several Counties for such a Contribution, that in the whole might build, furnish and maintain 47 Ships for the safety of the Kingdom. And by these the *King* soon secured and calmed the Seas; but the Faction endeavoured to raise a Tempest at Land.

[*Anno 1635.*] They complained of Invasions on their *Spiritual* Liberties, because the Bishops endeavoured in these years to reduce the Ceremonies of the Church to their primitive Observance, of which a long Prosperity had made men negligent: and time had done that to the Spiritual Body which it doth to the Natural, daily amassed those Corruptions which at length will stand in need of cure. Therefore when they took this proper Method of reforming a corrupted State in bringing things back to their Original Institution, both His *Majesty* and they were defamed with designs of *Popery*.

This Tax of Ship-money was pretended a breach to their Civil Liberties, and contrary to Law, because not laid by a Parliament. Therefore those who sought the People's favour to alter the present Government, by

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seeming the singular Patrons of their Rights, refused to pay the Tax, [*Anno 1636.*] and stood it out to a Tryal at Law. The Just Prince declined not the Tryal, and permitted Monarchy and Liberty to plead at the same Bar. All the Judges of the Land did justifie by their Subscriptions, that *it was legal for the King to levy such a Tax*; and their Subscriptions were enrolled in all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*. And when it came to be argued in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, ten of them absolutely declared for it; only two, *Crooke* and *Hutton*, openly dissented from that opinion to which they had formerly subscribed, not without the ignominy of Levity unbecoming their places. And as the *King* was thus victorious in the Law, so was He at Sea; and having curbed the Pirates, He also reduced the *Hollanders* to a precarious use of His Seas.

Amidst all these Difficulties and Calumnies the *King* hitherto had so governed, that sober men could not pray for, nor Heaven grant in Mercy to a People any greater Happiness than what his Reign did afford. The *British* Empire never more flourished with Magnificent Edifices; the Trade of the Nation had brought the wealth of the *Indies* home to our doors; Learning and all good Sciences were so cherished, that they grew to Admiration, and many Arts of the Ancients,

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buried

buried and forgotten by time, were revived again. No Subjects under the Sun richer, and (which was the effect of that) none prouder. Security increased the Husband-mans stock, and Justice preserved his Life; none being condemned as to Life, but by the lawful Verdict of those of an equal Condition, the Jury of his Peers. The poor might reverence, but needed not Fear the Great: and the Great though he might despise, yet could not injure his more obscure Neighbour. And all things were so administred, that they seemed to conspire to the Publick good; except that they made our *Happiness too much the cause of all Civil Commotions*, and brought our Felicity to that height, that by the necessity of humane nature, which hath placed all things in motion, it must necessarily decline. And God provoked by our sins did no longer restrain and obstruct the arts and fury of some wicked men, who contemning their present certain enjoyments, hoped for more wicked acquisitions in publick Troubles; to overwhelm every part of the *King's* Dominions with a deluge of Blood and Misery, and to commence that War, which as it was horrid with much slaughter, so it was memorable with the Experiences of His Majesties Vertues; Confusions, like Winds, from every Coast at once assaulting and trying His Righteous Soul.

The

The first Storm arose from the North, and the flame first broke out in *Scotland*, where those Lords who feared they should lose their spoils of Religion and Majesty, took all occasions to hasten the publick Misery (which at last most heavily lay upon their Country, the hands they had strengthened and instructed to fight against their Prince, laying a more unsupportable slavery upon them than their most impious Slanders could form in the imaginations of the credulous that they might fear from the *King*) by calumniating the *King's* Government, raising fears of Tyranny and Idolatry, forming and spreading seditious Libels. The Author, or at least, the Abettor, of one of which was found to be the Lord *Balmerino*, a Traytor by nature, being the Son of one who had before merited death for his Treasons to King *James*, yet found that mercy from him as the Son now did from King *Charles*, to have his Life and Estate continued after condemnation. Yet this perfidious man interpreted the *Kings* Clemency for his own Vertue; and he that had dared such a Crime, could not be changed by the Pardon of it; and as if he had rather received an Injury than Life, he was the most active in the approaching Rebellion.

[*Anno* 1637.] For the Rabble, that delights in Tumults, were fitted by this and other

other Boutezens for any occasion of condemning the *King's* Authority (though His designs, that were thus displeasing to the Nobles, were evidently for the benefit of the Populacy) and at last took fire from the Liturgy, something differing from ours, (lest a full consent might argue a dependency upon the Church of *England*) which some *Scottish* Bishops had composed and presented to the *King* for the use of their Church; which the *King*, who was desirous that those who were united under His Command might not be divided in Worship, confirmed, and appointed to be first read *July 13. at Edinburgh*, a City always pregnant with suspicions and false rumors. But it was entertained with all the instruments of fury that were present to a debauched multitude: for they flung cudgels and sticks at the Dean of *Edinburgh* while he was performing his Office; and after that was done re-inforc'd their assault upon the Bishops, whom the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Traquair* pretended to protect, who indured some affronts, that their Patience might provoke a greater rage in the Multitude, which a vigorous punishment had easily extinguished. For *they that are fierce in a croud, being singled, through their particular fears become obedient. And that rabble that talks high against the determinations of their Prince, when danger from the Laws is within their ken, distrust their companions, and return to subjection.*

But

But it soon appeared that this was not the bare effort of a mutinous Multitude, but a long-formed Conspiracy; and to this Multitude, whose present terrour was great, yet would have been contemptible in a short space, there appeared Parties to head them of several Orders. Who presently digested their Partisans into several Tables, and concocted this Mutiny into a formal Rebellion. To prosecute which they mutually obliged themselves and the whole Nation in a *Covenant* to extirpate *Episcopacy*, and whatsoever they pleased to brand with the odious names of *Herésie* and *Superstition*, and to defend each other against all Persons, not excepting the *King*.

To reduce this people to more peaceful practices, the *King* sends Marquess *Hamilton* (one who being carested by His Majesties Favour had risen to such a degree of wealth and greatness, that now he dreamed of nothing less than Empire to bring his power to perfection, at least to be Monarch of *Scotland*, to which he had some pretensions by his birth) as His Commissioner. Who with a *species* of Loyalty dissembled that pleasure which he took in the opposition of the Covenanters, whose first motions were secretly directed by his counsels, and those of his dependents,
Traquaire

Traquaire and *Roxbrough*, for all his Allies were of that party (contrary to the custom of that Country, where all the Members of a Family espouse the part of their Head though in the utmost danger:) and his Mother rid armed with Pistols at her Saddle-bow for defence of the Covenant. By his actings there new seeds of Discontents and War were daily sown, and his oppositions so faint, that he rather encreased than allayed their fury: By several returns to His Majesty for new Instructions he gave time to the Rebels to consolidate their Conspiracy, to call home their Exiles of Poverty that were in foreign Armies, and provide Arms for open Force: By his false representations of the state of things, he induced the *King* to temporize with the too-potent Corruption of that Nation (an artifice *King JAMES* had sometimes practised) and by granting their desires, to make them sensible of the evils which would flow from their own counsels. Therefore the *King* gave Order for revoking the *Liturgy*, the *High-commission*, the Book of *Canons*, and the *Five Articles of Perth*.

But the Covenanters were more insolent by these Concessions, because they had gotten that by unlawful courses and unjust force, which Modesty and Submission had never obtained; and imputing these Grants to the

King's

King's Weakness, not his Goodness, they proceeded to bolder Attempts: Indicted an Assembly without Him, in which they abolished *Episcopacy*; excommunicated the *Bishops* and all that adhered to them. Afterwards they seized upon the *King's* Revenue, surprised His Forts and Castles, and at last put themselves into Arms.

Provoked with these Injuries the *King* amasses a gallant Army, in which was a very great appearance of Lords and Gentlemen, and with these marches, and incamps within two miles of *Berwick*, within sight of the Enemy. But their present Condition being such as could endure neither War nor Peace, they endeavoured to dissipate that Army, which they could not overthrow, by a pretence to a Pacification. For which they petition'd the *King*, who yielded unto it out of His innate tenderness of His Subjects Blood. So an Accord was made June 17. [*Anno* 1639.] and the *King* disbands His Army, expecting the *Scots* should do the like, according to the Articles of Agreement.

But they being delivered from Fear, would not be restrained by Shame from breaking their Faith. For no sooner had the *King* disbanded, but they protested against the *Pacification*, printed many false Copies of it, that

that might represent it dishonourable to the *King*, retained their Officers in pay, changed the old Form of holding Parliaments, invaded the Prerogatives of the Crown, and solicited the *French King* for an aid of men and money.

This perfidious abuse of His Majesty's Clemency made those that judge of Counsels by the Issue to censure the King's Facility. "Some wondred how He could imagine there "would be any Moderation in so corrupt a "Generation of men, and that they who "had broken the Peace out of a desire of "War, should now lay aside their Arms out "of a love to Quiet. That there would be "always the same causes to the *Scots* of disturbing *England*, and opposing Government, their unquiet nature and Covetousness: therefore unless some strong impression made them either unable or unwilling "to distract our quiet, the *King* was to look "for a speedy return of their Injuries. Others "attributed the Accord to the *King's* sense "that some eminent Officers in His own Camp "were polluted with Counsels not different "from the Covenanters: and that *Hamilton* "His Admiral had betrayed the seasons of "fighting by riding quietly in the *Forth* of "*Edinburgh*; and had secret Conference with "His Mother, the great Nurse of the Cove-

"nant,

"nant, on Shipboard. But most referred it
"to the *King's* innate tenderness of His Sub-
"jects Blood, and to his Prudence not to de-
"file His Glory with the overthrow (which
"seemed probable) of a contemptible Ene-
"my, where the gains of the Victory could
"not balance the hazards of attempting it.

[*Anno 1640.*] While men thus discourse of
the *Scots* Perfidioufness, the *King* prepares for
another Army, and in order thereto calls a
Parliament in *Ireland*, and another in *Eng-
land*, for assistances against the Rebels in *Scot-
land*. The *Irish* granted Money to raise and
pay 8000 men in Arms, and furnish them
with Ammunition. Yet this Example with
the *King's* account of the Injuries done to
Him and this Nation by the *Scots*, and his
promise of for ever acquitting them of Ship-
money if now they would freely assist Him,
prevailed nothing upon the *English* Parlia-
ment, whom the Faction drew aside to other
Counsels. And when the King sent Sir *Hen-
ry Vane* to re-mind them of His desires, and
to demand Twelve Subsidies, yet to accept
of Six, he industriously (as was collected
from His own and His Sons following pra-
ctices) insisted upon the Twelve, without
insinuation of the lesser quantity His Ma-
jesty would be contented with; which gave
such an opportunity and matter for seditious
Harangues,

Harangues, that the House was so exasperated, as that they were about to Remonstrate against the War with *Scotland*. To prevent this ominous effect of the falseness of His Servant, the *King* was forced to dissolve the Parliament *May 5.* yet continued the Convocation, which granted Him 4 *s.* in the pound for all their Ecclesiastical Promotions. But the Laity that in the House had not time to declame against His Majesties Proceedings, did it without doors; for being dispersed to their homes, they filled all places with suspicious Rumours and high Discontents: and in *Southwark* there was an open Mutiny began, which was not pacified without much danger, and the Execution of the principal Leaders.

The King thus betrayed, defamed and deserted by those who should have considered that in His Honour their Safety was embarked, though He had no less cause to fear secret Conspiracies at Home, which were more dangerous because obscure, than the *Scots* publick Hostility; yet vigorously prosecuted His undertaking, and raised a sufficient Army: but could not do it with equal speed to His Enemies, who had soon re-united their dispersed Forces; and encouraged by the Faction, with whom they held intelligence, in *England*, contented not themselves to stand
upon

upon the defence, but invaded us, and advanced so far before all the *King's* Army could be gathered together, that they gave a defeat to a Party of it ere the Rear could be brought up by the Earl of *Strafford*, who was appointed General, or the *King* could come to encourage them with His Presence.

He was no sooner arrived at His Army, but there followed Him from some *English* Lords a Petition, conformable to the *Scotch Remonstrance*, which they called the *Intentions of the Army*. So that His Majesty might justly fear some attempts in the South, while He was thus defending Himself from the Northern injuries. The *King* answered the Petitioners, *That before their Petition came He had resolved to summon all the Peers to consult what would be most for the Safety of the Nation and His own Honour*. Who accordingly met, *Sept. 24*. Where it was determined that a Parliament should be called to meet, *Nov. 3*. and in the mean time a cessation should be made with the *Scots*, with whom some Commissioners from the Parliament should Treat.

Novemb. 3. Began that fatal Parliament, which was so transported by the Arts of some unquiet persons, that they dishonoured the name and hopes of a Parliament, ingulfed
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the Nation in a Sea of Blood, ruined the *King*, and betrayed all their own Priviledges and the People's Liberty into the power of a Phanatick and perfidious Army. And although His Majesty could not hope to find them moderate, yet He endeavoured to make them so; telling them at their meeting, that He was resolved to put Himself freely upon the Affections of His *English* Subjects; that He would satisfie all their just Grievances, and not leave to malice it self a shadow to doubt of His desire to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom. He commended to their care the chasing out of the Rebels, the Provisions of His own Army, and the Relief of the oppressed Northern Counties.

But the Malignity of some few, and the Ignorance of more, employed that Assembly in other matters: First in purging their House of all such as they conceived would not comply with their destructive enterprises; and for such men they either found some fault with their Elections, or made them Criminals in some publick Grievance; though others of a deeper guilt they kept among them, that their Offences might make them obnoxious to their power, and obsequious to their commands. Then with composed Harangues they declaimed upon the publick Grievances, and reckoned up casual Misfortunes amongst
designed

designed Abuses of Government, every way raising up Contumelies against the present Power: and that which was fullest of Detraction and Envy was applauded as most pregnant with Liberty. Thus pretending several Injuries had been done to the People, they raised the Multitude to hopes of an unimaginable Liberty, and a discontent with the present Government. After this they set free all the Martyrs of Sedition, that for their malignant Libels had been imprisoned, and three of them were conducted through *London* with such a company of people adorned with Rosemary and Bays, as it seemed a Triumph over Justice and those Tribunals that sentenced them. Then they fell upon all the chief Ministers of State: they impeached the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; after him the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Finch*, Keeper of the Great Seal, the Judges that according to their Oath had determined Ship-money legal, and others; some of which fled, those that were found were clapt in Prison: so that the *King* was soon despoiled of those that were able or faithful to give Him Counsel, and others terrified in their Ministry to Him.

While the Factious thus led the House, their Partisans without by their Instructions formed Petitions against the Government in

Church and State ; to which they seduced the ignorant Rabble in the City and several Counties to subscribe, and in a tumultuous manner to present them to their Patriots. Who being animated by the success of their Arts, fell to draw up a Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*, wherein the Power of calling that great Council of the Nation was, upon refusal of the *King*, and the neglect of others, devolved upon Constables. Which profanation of Majesty though the *King* dissuaded them from, yet they persisted in ; and He passed it.

[*Anno 1641.*] After five Months time (for so long a space they took to rake up Matter and Witnesses to justify their accusation, and to give leisure to the Court for Overtures of gainful Offices to the great Sticklers against him ; which not appearing) the Earl of *Stratford* is brought to his Trial in *Westminster-Hall* before the Lords as his Judges : (the *King*, *Queen* and *Prince* sitting behind a Curtain in an adjoining Gallery) and round about the Court stood the Commons. His Accusers and Witnesses were *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish*, (and indeed so brave a Person could not be ruined but by the pretended hatred of the whole Empire) The *English* were such as envied his Vertues, and greatness in the *King's* Favour. The *Scotch*, be-
cause

cause they knew his Prudence able to counter-work their Frauds, discover their impudent Cheats, and his wise management to overthrow their Force. The *Irish* hatred arose from his just and necessary Severity in his Government, whereby he had reduced them from so great a Barbarousness that was impatient of Peace, to a Civility that was fertile of Plenty; and by Artifices, Husbandry and Commerce had rendred that tumultuary Nation so rich, that they were now able to repay to the *English* Treasury those great Debts which their former Troubles and Commotions had contracted. Although those of this Nation were *Papists*, and sworn Enemies both of the *English* name and State, and were even then practising and meditating their Rebellion, (which they hoped more easie when so wise a Governour was removed) and so prone enough of themselves to the Crime; yet were they much caressed by the Faction, that these in the name of the whole Kingdom should press the *Earl* with envy to the Grave.

His Charge consisted of Twenty eight Articles (that their number might cover their want of Evidence.) To all which the *Lieutenant* (whose Patience was not overcome, nor his nature changed by the Reproaches of his Accusers) answers with so brave a Pre-

sence of Spirit; such firm Reasons, and clear an Eloquence, that he whom the mercenary Tongues of their Lawyers had rendered as a Monster of men, could not be found guilty of Treason, either in the particular or the whole. So that his Enemies were filled with madness that their Charge of Crimes appeared no other than a Libel of Slanders; and the dis-interested Hearers were (beside the pleasure they received to find so great Endowments polluted with no hainous Crimes) sensible of the unhappiness of those who are *Ministers of State among a Factioned people, where their prosperous Counsels are not rewarded and unsuccessful, though prudent, are severely accused: when they err, every one condemns them, and their wise Advices few praise; for those that are benefited envy, and such as are disappointed hate those that gave them.* And such seemed the Fate of this Excellent Counsellour, whom nothing else but his great Parts, his Master's Love and Trust had exposed to this Danger.

The Faction being obstructed this way, by the Earl's Innocency and Abilities, from taking away his Life, moved the House to proceed by a Bill of *Attainder*, to the making a Law after the Fact, whereby they Vote him guilty of High Treason: yet add a Caution, that it should not be drawn into a Precedent,

seek-

seeking to secure themselves from a return of that Injustice upon themselves which they acted on him, intending to prosecute what they falsely charged him with, the Alteration of Government. Which yet passed not without a long debate and contention: for many that had none but honest hopes, disdained to administer to the Interest of the Faction in the blood of so much Innocent Gallantry; and those that were prudent saw how such an Example opened the avenues to ruine of the best Persons, when once exposed to publick hatred. Therefore they earnestly dissuaded such a proceed. And fifty nine of the most eminent openly dissented when it came to the Vote; whose Names were afterwards posted, and marked for the fury of the Rabble, that for the future they might not oppose the designs of the Factious, unless they desired to be torn in pieces.

In two days the Lower House past the Bill, so swift were the Demagogues to shed blood: but the Lords House was a little more deliberative (the *King* having amongst them declared His sense of the Earl's Innocency:) of whose slow Resolves the Faction being impatient, there came a seditious rabble of about 5 or 6000 of the dregs of the people, armed with Staves and Cudgels, and other Instruments of Outrage, (intigated by the

more unquiet Members both of the House of Commons and City) to the Parliament doors, clamouring *Justice, Justice*: and the next day, to raise their Fury, there was a report spread among them of some endeavours to prepare an Escape for the *Lieutenant of Ireland*; therefore with more fierceness they raised their clamors, some objecting Treason to him, others their Decay of Trade, and each one either as he was instructed (for some of the House of Commons would be among them, to direct their Fury, and to give some order to their Tumult, that it might appear more terrible,) or the sense of his own necessities and lusts led him, urged his different motives for Justice: and at last, heated by their own motion and noise, they guard the Doors of the House of *Peers*, offer insolencies to the Lords, especially the Bishops, as they went in, and threaten them if their Votes disagree from their clamors. And when they had thus made an assault on the Liberty of the Parliament (which yet was pretended to be so Sacred) they afterward set upon the neighbouring *Abby-Church*, where forcing open the doors they brake down the Organs, spoiled all the Vestments and Ornaments of the Worship: from thence they fly to Court, and disturb the Peace of it with their undecent and barbarous clamours: and at last were raised to that impudency, as to upbraid the

King,

King, (who from a Scaffold perswaded them as they passed by to a modest care of their own private affairs) with an unfitness to reign.

When some Justices of the Peace, according to the Law, endeavoured to suppress those Tumults by imprisoning the most forward and bold Leaders, they themselves were imprisoned by the Command of the Commons, upon pretext of an injury offered to the Liberties of the Subject; of which one was (as they then dictated) *That every one might safely petition the Parliament*: yet when the *Kentish* men came to Petition for something contrary to the gust of the Faction, they caused the City Gates to be shut upon them; and when other Counties were meditating Addresses for Peace, by threatnings they deterred them from such honest undertakings. And when some prudent Persons minded the Demagogues how dishonourable it was for the Parliament not to suppress such Mutinies, they replied, that *their friends ought rather to be thanked and caressed*.

By these and other Arts having wholly overthrown the freedom of that Council, and many withdrawing themselves from such Outrages, when scarce the third part of the Peers were present, the Faction of that House likewise

wise passed the Bill, the Dissenters being out-
 voted only by seven Voices. Yet all this
 could not prevail upon the *King*, though
 the Tumults were still high without, and
 within He was daily solicited by the Lords
 of His Palace (who now looked upon the
 Earl as the Herd doth on an hurt Deer, and
 they hoped his Blood would be the Lustration
 of the Court) to leave the Earl as a Sa-
 crifice to the Vulgar Rage. Nor did the
King any ways yield, till the Judges (who
 were now obsequious to the pleasures of the
 Parliament) declared He might do it by Law,
 and the Earl by his own Letters devoted him-
 self as a Victim for the publick Peace and His
 Majesties Safety: and then overcome with
 Importunities on all hands, and being abused
 by bad dealing of the Judges (as Himself
 complained to the Bishops whom he consulted
 in that Case, and the Bishop of *London*, who
 was one of them, answered, *That if the King*
in Conscience found him not guilty, He ought
not to pass the Bill; but for matter of Law,
what was Treason, he referred Him to the Judges,
who, according to their Oath, ought to carry
themselves indifferently betwixt Him and His
Subjects:) The other four Bishops that were
 then consulted, *Durham, Lincoln, Carlisle,*
 and the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, were not so
 free as the Bishop of *London* was, and there-
 fore the King observed a special blessing of
 God

God upon him. He at last with much reluctance signed a Commission to some Lords to pass that Bill of *Attainder*, and another for *Continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the Two Houses*.

“ The passing of these two Bills, as some
 “ thought, wounded the *King's* Greatness
 “ more than any thing he ever did. The
 “ first, because it cut off a most exquisite In-
 “ strument of Empire, and a most faithful
 “ Servant : and none did more make use of
 “ this to pollute His Honour, than those who
 “ had even forced Him to it ; like those ma-
 “ lignant and damned Spirits who upbraid
 “ unhappy Souls with those Crimes and ru-
 “ ines to which they themselves have tempt-
 “ ed and betrayed them. But the heaviest
 “ Censor was Himself, for He never left be-
 “ wailing His Compliance, or rather Conni-
 “ vance, with this Murder, till the issue of
 “ His Blood dried up those of His Tears.

“ By the other Bill He had, as some cen-
 “ sured, renounced His Crown, and granted
 “ it to those men who at present exercised so
 “ Arbitrary a Power, that they wanted no-
 “ thing but length of time to be reputed
 “ Kings, and this they now had gotten. But
 “ the more Speculative concluded it an act of
 “ especial Prudence, for the *King* made that
 “ an

“ an evidence of His sincere intention to ob-
 “ lige His People, and overcome the Malice
 “ of His Enemies with Benefits: which the
 “ Faction would have usurped, and by the
 “ boldness of the attempt ingaged the People
 “ to them as the only Patrons of their Liberty.
 “ And they were furnished with an Example
 “ for it by their Confederates in Scotland,
 “ who indicted an Assembly without the
 “ King’s leave, and continued it against His
 “ pleasure; and (as *all imitations of Crimes*
 “ *exceed their first pattern*) it was conceived
 “ these men whose furies were more unjust,
 “ and so would be more fierce, intended
 “ to improve that Precedent to the extreme
 “ guilt.

The Bill was no sooner signed, but they
 hastened the Execution; and so much the
 more eagerly, because the King desired, in a
 most passionate Letter delivered by the Prince
 to the Lords, that that Excellent Soul which
 found so much Injustice on Earth, might have
 the more time to fit it self for the Mercy of
 Heaven. But this favour which became Chris-
 tians to grant, agreed not with the Religion
 of his Adversaries, and therefore the second
 day after he was brought to the Scaffold on
 Tower-hill, (in his Passage thither he had a
 sight of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose
 Prayers and Blessing he with a low Obeisance
 begged,

begged, and the most pious Prelate bestowed
 them with Tearss,) where with a greater pre-
 sence of mind than he had looked his Enemies
 in the face did he encounter Death, and sub-
 mitted his neck to the stroke of the Execu-
 cutioner. " He was a person of a generous
 " Spirit, fitted for the noblest enterprises, and
 " the most difficult parts of Empire. His
 " Counsels were bold, yet just, and he had a
 " Vigour proper for the Execution of them.
 " Of an Eloquence, next to that of His Ma-
 " ster's, masculine, and most excellent. He
 " was no less affectionate to the Church than
 " to the State, and not contented while li-
 " ving to defend the Government and Patri-
 " mony of it, he commended it also to his
 " Son when he was about to die, and charged
 " his abhorrency of Sacrilege. His Enemies
 " called the Majesty of his Miene in his Lieu-
 " tenancy, Pride, and the undaunted execu-
 " tion of his Office on the contumacious, the
 " Insolency of his fortune. He was censured
 " for committing that fatal Errour of following
 " the *King to London* and to the Parliament
 " after the Pacification with the *Scots at York*;
 " and it was thought, that if he had gone o-
 " ver to his charge in *Ireland*, he might have
 " secured both himself and that Kingdom for
 " His Majesties Service. But some attributed
 " this Counsel to a necessity of *Fate, whose*
 " *first stroke is at the brain of those whom it de-*
 " *signs*

“ *signs to ruine, and brought him to feel the*
 “ *effects of Popular Rage, which himself in*
 “ *former Parliaments had used against Go-*
 “ *vernment, and to find the Experience of*
 “ *his own advices against the Duke of Buck-*
 “ *ingham. Providence teaching us to abhor*
 “ *ver-sine Counsels by the mischiefs they bring*
 “ *upon their Authors.*

The Fall of this Great Man so terrified the other Officers of State, that the Lord *High Treasurer* resigned his Staff to the Hands from whence he received it; the Lord *Cottington* forsook the Mastership of the Court of *Wards*; and the *Guardian* of the Prince returned Him to the *King*: These Lords parting with their Offices, like those that scatter their Treasure and Jewels in the way, that they might delude the violence of their greedy pursuers. But the *King* was left naked of their faithful Ministry, and exposed to the Infusions and Informations of those who were either Complices or Mercenaries to the Faction, to whom they discovered his most private Counsels.

When the Earl of *Strafford* was dead, then did the Parliament begin to think of sending away the *Scots*; who hitherto had much impoverished the Northern Counties, and increased the charges of the Nation: but now they

they were Voted to receive 300000 pound, under the notion of a Brotherly Assistance, but in truth, designed by the Faction, as a reward for their Clamours for the *Earls Blood*; yet were they kept so long till the *King* had passed away more of His Prerogative, in signing the Bills to take away the *High-Commission* and the *Star-Chamber*. After which spoils of Majesty they disband the *English* and the *Scotch* Armies, *August 6.* and on the 10. of that Month the *King* follows them into *Scotland*, to settle, if it were possible, that Kingdom. But the *King* still found them as before: when He satisfied their greedy appetites, then would they offer Him their Lives and Fortunes; but when gain or advantage appeared from His Enemies, they appeared in their proper nature ungrateful, changeable and perfidious, whom no favours could oblige, nor any thing but Ruine was to be expected by building upon their Love.

While the *King* was in *Scotland* labouring to settle that Nation by granting all that the Covetousness and Ambition of their Leaders pretended was for the Publick good, and so aimed at no less than a Miracle, by His Benefits to reduce *Faith* (which, like *Life*, when it is once departed doth never naturally return) into those perfidious breasts; the Parliament adjourns, and leaves a standing Committee of such

such as were the Leaders or the Servants of the Faction. These prepared new Toils for His Majesties Return, and by them was the *Grand Remonstrance* formed : in it were reckoned for Grievances all the Complaints of men that were impatient of Laws and Government ; the Offences of Courtiers, the unpleasing Resolves of Judges, the Neglects or Rigours of the Ministers of Justice, the undigested Sermons of some Preachers, yea, the Positions of some Divines in the Schools, were all exaggerated to defame the present Government both in Church and State, and to magnifie the skill of these State-Physicians that offered Prescripts for all these Distempers. Besides, more easily to abuse the *Vulgar*, who reckon *Misfortunes as Crimes*, unpleasing accidents were represented as designs of Tyranny ; and those things which had been reformed, were yet mentioned as continued burthens. From which the people were assured there could be no deliverance but by the wisdom and magnanimity of the Remonstrants.

To prepare the way for this, the most opprobrious parts of it were first whispered among the Populacy, that by this seeming suppression men impatient of Secrets might more eagerly divulge them, and the danger appear greater by an affected silence. Then prodigious

gious Calumnies (which none but souls prone to any wickedness could believe of so Great a man) were formed of the *King*, and such suspicions raised of Him and His Friends, as might force them to some Injuries which hitherto they forbore, and by securing themselves increase the Publick fears. For *Slanders do rather provoke most men than amend them; and the provoked think more of their safety, than to adjust their actions against their malicious Slanderers.* And when the minds of men were made thus solicitous concerning Dangers from the *King*, to make them more pliable and ductile, there was represented to them an inevitable anger of Heaven against the present state of things both in Church and State, testified by many Prodigies that were related, and portentuous Passages of Ruine. Certain Prophecies (for a credulity to which the *English* Vulgar are infamous) from unknown Oracles are divulged, which enigmatically describe the *King* as a Monster, and from such a Prince must proceed a change of Government. Some vain persons also, that gave themselves up to the Imposture of Astrology, were hired to terrifie the people with the insignificant Conjunctions of Stars, and from them to foretel ruines to the better part of the World, and an imminent destruction on men of the Long Robe, and Alterations of States.

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These were done to temper the minds of men by a superstition for a guidance of their Ministers, who being conceived to be the Ambassadors of Heaven, were supposed to have it in their Commission, to declare the Conditions of War and Peace: and these, either through the same weakness capable of the like terrors with the Vulgar, or (which is more to be abhorred) corrupted, as some were, by the Caresses and gainful hopes that the Faction baited them with, did justify their fears, and increase them by applying some obscure Prophecies in Scripture to the present Times and People; compared the pretended Corruptions of our Church with the Idolatries of *Israel*, and whatsoever was condemned in the Holy Records, was parallel'd with the things they disliked here, and all the Curses that God poured upon His irreconcilable and obdurate enemies, were denounced against such as differ'd from them, or would not joyn with the Faction.

To make these Harangues more efficacious, the Authors of them received the Reverence of the Demagogues, who (despising, questioning and exposing to Affronts such sober Divines as would have cured the madness of the People,) appropriated to such Teachers the Titles of Saints, Faithful Ministers, Precious men; and they on the other side made a re-
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turn of Epithets to their Masters, of the Servants of the Most High, such as were to do the Work of the Lord; That by their Counsels men were to expect new Heavens and a new Earth; that they were men that should prepare the Kingdom for Jesus Christ, and lay the Foundations of the Empire of the Saints which was to last a Thousand years. To make the Cry yet louder, they permitted all Sects and Heresies a Licence of publick profession, (which hitherto Discipline, the Care of the Common Peace and Religion had confined to secret corners) and permitted the Office of Teaching to every bold and ignorant undertaker; so that at last the dregs of the People usurped that Dignity, and Women, who had parted with the natural modesty of their Sex, would not only speak, but also rule in the Church. All these, in gratitude for their Licentiousness, still persuaded to their hearers the admiration of the Authors of it, and bitterly inveighed against those whom the Care both of the Souls and Fortunes of men would excite to repress them, in many of their Raptures denouncing Wo and Judgment to the lawful Governours in Church and State.

While all these Methods of Ruine were preparing here, the same anger of God, the same madness of men raised up another Tempest

pest in *Ireland*. For the *Popish* Lords and Priests of *Ireland* (who were the prime composers of the Tragedies there,) were encouraged by the Success of the *Scots*, who by a *prosperous Rebellion* (as the Historian of those Troubles writes) had procured for themselves such large Privileges, to an imitation, which the present Jealousies in *England* (where mutual Contrasts would employ all their force upon one another,) promised to be secure. And they had an happy opportunity by the Vacancy in Government through the slaughter of the Earl of *Strafford*, with whom the *Irish* Lords (while they prosecuted him in *England*) had removed all those other inferiour Magistrates that were most skilful in the affairs of that Kingdom, by accusing to the Faction some of them of Treason, and others of an inclination to the *Earl*, and had got preferred to their charges such as were either altogether unacquainted with the *Genius* of that People, or favourers of the Conspiracy. A strength they had also ready; for those 8000 which had been listed for the *Scottish* Expedition were unseasonably disbanded, and the *King* in foresight they might cause some mischief in their own Country, had therefore promised 4000 of them to the King of *Spain*: yet would not the Parliament consent to their departure, because (as the *Irish* Lords suggested) it would displease the King of *France*; and

and when the *King* promised to send as many to the *French* Camp, that likewise was not relished. The Common Souldiers of that Army being thus made useless, and therefore like men of their employment most fierce when they were to be dismissed from the dangers of War, were easily drawn into the Rebellion, although very few of their Officers were polluted with the Crime.

The *Irish* Lords and Priests being allured by these our Vices and these several opportunities, began their Rebellion *Octob. 23.* The *Irish* throughout that whole Kingdom on a sudden invading the unprovided *English* that were scattered among them, despoiling them of their Estates, Goods, and many thousands of their Lives, without any respect of Sex, Age, Kindred or Friendship, and made them as so many Sacrifices to their bloody Superstition. They missed but a little to have surprised *Dublin.* But their Conspiracy being detected there and in some few other places, the *English* name and interest was preserved in that Kingdom, till they could receive Succours from hence.

The *King* had the first intelligence of it, in its very beginnings, in *Scotland*, and thereupon sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them

them with His Knowledge, and Instructions, and to carry all that Money that His present Stores could supply. Besides, He moves the Parliament of *Scotland*, as being nearest, to a speedy help; who decline their Aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*. At the same time also He sends post to the Parliament of *England*; who less regard it, the Faction applauding their fortune, that new Troubles were arisen to molest the *King*, and that the Royal Power being thus assaulted in all three Nations, there must shortly arise so many new Commonwealths. Besides that it yielded fresh matter of reproach to His Majesty, to whose Counsels at first secretly they whispered, and at last publickly imputed that horrid Massacre. Which Slanders were coloured by the Arts of the *Irish* Rebels, who, to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragged that the *Queen* was with their Army; That the *King* would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; That they did but maintain His Cause against the *Puritans*; That they had the *Kings* Commission for what they did, shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an Old broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby, by one *Plunkett*, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many. That the *Scots* were

in confederacy with them, to beget a faith of which, they abstained from the lives and fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

On the other side, to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produce fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from England that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the Irish should be compelled to the Protestant Worship; that for the first offence they should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their Lives. Besides, they present them with the hopes of Liberty: That the English Yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the English should be divided among the Natives. And with these hopes of Spoil and Liberty the Irish were driven to such a Fury, that they committed so many horrid and barbarous acts as scarce ever any Age or People were guilty of.

In the mean while nothing was done for the relief of the poor English there, but only some Votes passed against the Rebels, till the King returned to London, which was about the end of November: where He with the Queen and the Prince were magnificently feasted by the Citizens, and the Chief of them afterwards by Him at Hampton-Court. For

he never neglected any honest Arts to gain His Peoples love; to which they were naturally prone enough, had not His Enemies methods and impulses depraved their *Genius*. But this much troubled the Faction, who envied that Reverence to Majesty in others which was not in themselves, and they endeavoured to make these loves short and unhappy; for they discountenanced the prime advancers of this Honour to the *King*, and were more eager to render Him odious. For having gotten a Guard about them, they likewise insinuated into the people dangerous apprehensions as the cause of that Guard, and every day grew more nice, and jealous of their Priviledges, and Power. The *King's* advices to more tenderness of His Prerogative, or His Advertisements of the scandalous speeches that were uttered in their House, they interpret as encroachments upon their Grandeur, and upbraided the *King* for them in their Petitions to Him.

But their greatest effort upon Majesty was the Remonstrance; after which they took all occasions to magnifie the apprehensions of those Fears which they had falsely pretended to in it. This the Faction had before formed, and now brought into the House of Commons; where it found a strong opposition by those wise men that were tender of the publick

lick Peace and Common Good : though those who preferred their Private to the General Interest, and every one that was short-sighted and improvident for the future, were so fierce for it, that the Debates were continued all night till ten a clock the next morning, so that many of the more aged, and persons of best fortunes (not accustomed to such watchings) were wearied out, and many others, not daring to provoke the Faction in this their grand Design, left the House; so that at last they carried it, yet but by eleven Votes. Which they presented with a Petition to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Lords, and the Ceremonies in the Church, and to remove those Persons from His Trust which they could not confide in; yet named none, but only accused all under the name of a *Malignant Popish* Party. Which they had no sooner delivered than they caused it to be published in Print.

To which the *King* answers in another publick Declaration, but so much to the discontent of the Demagogues, to find their Methods of Ruine so fully discovered as they were in His Majesties Answer, that they had recourse to their former sovereign Remedy, which sober men accounted a crime, and an indignity to Government, the Tumults of the Rabble. Who in great numbers and much confusion

confusion came up to *Westminster*, some crying out against Bishops, others belching their fury against the Liturgy, and a third party roaring that the Power of the *Militia* should be taken out of the *King's* hands. To their Clamours they added rude Affronts to those Lords whom their Leaders had taught them to hate, and especially to the Bishops, at their going in or coming out of the House: and afterwards drawing up to *White-Hall*, they appeared so insolent, as it was evident they wanted only some to begin, for there were enough to prosecute an Assault upon the *King* in His own Palace.

The Bishops thus rudely excluded from their Right and Liberty of coming to the Parliament, Twelve of them afterwards protest against the Proceedings of it, during their so violent Exclusion. Which Protestation the Commons presently accused of High Treason, and caused their Commitment to the *Tower*; where they continued them till the Bill against their Votes in the Lords House was past, that they might not produce their Reasons for their Rights, and against the Injustice offered unto them, and then afterwards released them.

The *King* also saw it necessary to take a Guard of such Gentlemen as offered their Service

vice for His Safety, and to prevent the prophaning of Majesty by the rude fury of the People, who used to make their Addresses acceptable at *Westminster*, by offering in their passage some base Affronts at *White-Hall*. But when the terrour of this Guard had reduced them to some less degree of Impudency, they then, instructed by their Heads, laboured to make it more unsafe to the *King*, by seeking to raise the Rage and Jealousie of the whole City against Him. For at midnight there were cries out in the Street, that all People should arise to their defence; for the *King* with His *Papists* were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds. Than which though nothing was more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with Madness.

The *King* therefore, not alwaies to encourage these Violences with Patience, but at last by a course of Justice to take off those whom He had found to be the Authors of these destructive Counsels, the grand Movers of these Seditious practices, and, which was more, the Inviters of a Foreign Force, the *Scotch Army*, into this Nation; commands His Attorney General to accuse Five Members of the House
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of Commons, and one of the Lords, upon Articles of High Treason, to be tried according to the Laws of the Land: and He also sends some other Officers to seal up their Trunks and Cabinets in their several Lodgings, and to secure their Persons. This being related to the House of Commons (wherein the Faction was now grown more powerful, and with whom did joyn many men of Integrity in this Occurrence, being too careful of the Priviledges of their House, which yet secure none of the Members against Justice for Murder, Felony or Treason) they were so far from admitting the *King's* Charge against them, that they accused the *King* of breach of Priviledge, and Vote all those guilty of Enmity to the Common-wealth that shall obey the *King* in any of His Commands concerning them.

This Obstruction of Justice so far moved the *King*, together with the Advice of some of His Council that were also of the House of Commons, as also an hope of rooting up the Faction this way, that none through the hope of Concealment should be encouraged to conspire the publick Ruine, that He Himself, with about an hundred Lords and Gentlemen and their followers, went to the House of Commons: Where commanding His Attendants to move no further than the Stairs,

to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any although provoked, Himself with the *Paltzgrave* only enters the House, and demands that the Incendiaries might be delivered into His hands, with whom He promises to deal no otherwise than according to the Law. But they whom he sought, being before informed (as it is reported) of the *King's* coming by the secret Intelligence of Marquess *Hamilton*, and a Court Lady (who having lost the Confluence of Servants with her Beauty, sought now to prevent a solitude by politick ministeries) had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the Sanctuary of the *City*. Wherefore the *King* having renewed His Charge, without injury to any, immediately departs.

But the Faction would not let Him so rest, but prosecuted this attempt of His with all the Clamours that they possibly could raise, spread the sparks of Dissention far and wide, make the common people mad with Fears and Distractions, stir up some in several Counties to bring Petitions for the impeached Members and their violated Priviledges; and at last prepare an armed Rabble disposed into Order to bring the accused Demagogues to the House from their Coverts in *London*. This coming to the knowledge of the *King*, although many Gallant and faithful Persons
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proffered their Service by mingling with the Rout, or by being as Spectators, to curb any Insolencies that should be attempted on Him: yet was He resolved to withdraw Himself with the Queen and their Children to Windsor, that He might permit their Fury to languish when it had no opposition, and to give time for their jealousies and rumours to wear old and perish. For the first Indignation of a mutinous Multitude is most fierce, and a small delay breaks their consent: and Majesty would have a greater Reverence, if any, at a distance.

The King's Wisdom was perceived by His Enemies, and therefore to counterwork it, and not to let the people sleep without fear, lest they should come to be sober, and return to the love of Obedience, strange reports were every day brought of dangers from the King: That troops of Papists were gathered about Kingston upon the Thames, where the County Magazine was lodged, under the Command of the Lord George Digby, who was then famed to be a Papist, (though at that time he was an elegant Assertor of the Protestant Faith,) and Col. Lunsford, who was characterised to be of so monstrous an appetite that *he would eat Children*. And parties were sent to take them both, which found no such dreadful Preparations. At other times,

times, when the People on the Lord's dayes were at Divine Worship, they were distracted from it by Alarms, that the *Papists* (who and from whence none could tell) were up in Arms, and were just then about to fire their Houses, and mix their Blood with their Prayers: That there were Forces kept in Grotts and Caves under ground, that should in the night break out into the midst of the City, and cut all their throats: And what was more prodigious, and though ridiculous, yet had not a few believers in *London*, That there were designs by Gunpowder to blow up the *Thames*, and choak them with the water in their beds. Thus were the people taught to hate their Prince, and by bloody news from every Quarter they were instructed to that Cruelty which they vainly feared, and to adore those by whose Counsels they were delivered from so unexpected Dangers.

By all this the Faction gained the repute of Modesty inferiour to their supposed Trust, when they demanded nothing else but the Command of the Tower, and the *Militia* of all the Counties in *England*, together with the Forts and Castles of the same. For all which they moved the House of Commons to petition: who desiring the Conjunction of the Lords in the same, were wholly refused by them. Therefore stemmed by the Faction they

they petition alone. Which unlimited Power the *King* absolutely refused to grant unto them, who He foresaw would use that, as they had all His other Concessions, to the ruine of the Author of their Power. Yet was He pleased to consent, after He had demonstrated the prejudice they required to the *English* Nation, that they might send over an Army of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland*, and deliver unto them the strong Town and Port of *Carickfergus*, one of the Chief Keys of that Kingdom: which was done to oblige the *Scots* to them in their future designs. And also He was pleased to wave the Prosecution of the Impeached Members, and was willing to grant a Free and General Pardon for all His Subjects, as the Parliament should think convenient.

But all this could not content them who had immoderate desires, and they were more discontented that they could not usurp the *King's* Rights, than if they had lost their own Priviledges: therefore to bring the Lords to a concurrence with them, the hitherto prosperous Art of Tumultuous Petitions was again practised, and great Numbers from several Counties were moved to come as Earthquakes, to shake the Fundamental Constitutions of their House, and to require that neither the Bishops nor the Popish Lords should

should continue in their Ancient Right to Vote among the Peers. By this means they should weaken the *King* in the Voices of that House, and whosoever they could not confide in; they could fright him from Voting against them, by exposing him as Popish to the Popular Fury. For this was the method of using the Petitions. The most common Answer was with Thanks, and that *the House of Commons were just now in consideration thereof*. The Petitioners were taught to reply; that *They doubted not of the care of the Commons House, but all their distrust was in the Hearts of the Lords, where the Popish Lords and Bishops had the greatest Power, and there it stuck, whose names they desired to know*: and in this they were so earnest, that they would not willingly withdraw whilst it was debated, and then they had leave to depart with this Answer, *That the House of Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requests, and shall so continue till Redress be obtained*. Such Petitions as these were likewise from the several Classes of the inferiour Tradesmen about *London*, as *Porters, Watermen*, and the like: and that nothing of testifying an universal Importunity might be left unattempted, *Women* were perswaded to present Petitions to the same effect. While the Faction thus boasted in the success of their Arts, Good men grieved to see these daily In-

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families of the supreme Council of the Nation, all whose Secrets were published to the lowest and weakest part of the People: and they who clamoured it as a breach of their Privilege, that the *King* took notice of their Debates, now made them the Subjects of Discourse in every Shop, and all the corners of the Street; where the good and bad were equally censured, and the Honour and Life of every Senator exposed to the Verdict of the Rabble. No Magistrate did dare to do his Office, and all things tended to a manifest Confusion: So that many sober Persons did leave the *Kingdom*, as *unsafe*, where *Factions* were more powerful than the *Laws*. And just Persons chose rather to bear than to see the *Miseries* and *Reproaches* of their Country.

On the other side, to make the *King* more plyable, they tempt Him by danger in His most beloved Part, the *Queen*, concerning whom they caused a Rumour, that *they* did intend to impeach Her of High Treason. This Rumour made the deeper Impression, because they had raised most prodigious Slanders (which are the first Marks for destruction of Princes) on Her; and when they had removed all other Counsellors from the *King*, She was famed to be the Rock upon which all hopes of Peace and Safety were split: That She commanded no less His Counsellors than

than Affections, and that His Weakness was so great, as not to consent to or enterprize any thing which She did not first approve : That She had perverted Him to Her Religion, and formed designs of overthrowing the Protestant Profession. These and many other of a portentuous falshood were scattered among the *Vulgar*, who are alwayes most prone to believe the Worst of Great Persons : and the uncontrolled Licence of reporting such Calumnies is conceived the first Dawning of Liberty. But the Parliament taking notice of the Report, sent some of their House to purge themselves from it, as an unjust Scandal cast upon them. To which the *Queen* mildly answers, That there was a general Report thereof, but She never saw any Articles in writing, and having no certain Author for either, She gave little credit thereto ; nor will She believe they would lay any Aspersions upon Her, who hath been very unapt to misconstrue the Actions of any One person, and much more the Proceedings of Parliament, and shall at all times wish an Happy Understanding between the King and His People.

But the King knowing how usual it was for the Faction by Tumults and other Practices to transport the Parliament from their Just Intentions in other things, and that they might do so in this, resolved to send Her into *Holland*, under colour of accompanying their

Eldest Daughter, newly married to the Prince of Orange; but in truth to secure Her, so that by the fears of Her danger (who was so dear unto Him) He might not be forced to any thing contray to His Honour and Conscience, and that Her Affections and Relation to Him might not betray Her Life to the Malice of His Enemies. With Her He also sent all the Jewels of the Crown, that they might not be the spoils of the Faction, but the means of the support of Her Dignity in foreign parts, if His Necessities afterwards should not permit Him to provide for Her otherwise. Which yet She did not so employ, but reserved them for a supply of Ammunition and Arms, when His Adversaries had forced Him to a necessary Defence. It was said that the Faction knew of this conveyance, and might have prevented it, but that they thought it for their greater advantage that this Treasure should be so managed, that the *King* in confidence of that assistance might take up Arms, to which they were resolved at last to drive Him. For they thought their Cause would be better in War than Peace, because their present Deliberations were in the sense of the Law actual Rebellions; and a longer time would discover those Impostures by which they had deluded the People, who would soon leave them (as many now did begin to repent of their Madness) to the Vengeance which was due to their

their practices, unless they were more firmly united by a communion of guilt in an open assaulting their Lawful Prince.

The *King* hastens the security of the *Queen*, and accompanies Her as far as *Dover*, there to take his farewel of Her; a business almost as irksome as death, to be separated from a Wife of so great Affections and eminent Endowments: and that which made it the more bitter was, that the same cause which forced Her Separation from Him set Her at a greater distance from His Religion, (the only thing wherein their Souls were not united) even the Barbarity of His Enemies who professed it, yet were so irreconcilable to Vertue, that they hated Her for Her Example of Love and Loyalty to Him. While He was committing Her to the mercy of the Winds and Waves, that She might escape the Cruelty of more unquiet and faithless men, they prosecute Him with their distasteful Addresses, and at *Canterbury* present Him with a Bill for taking away Bishops Votes in Parliament. Which having been cast out of the House of Peers several times before, ought not by the Course and Order of Parliament to have been admitted again the same Session. But the Faction had now used their accustomed Engine, a Tumult, and it was then passed by the Lords, and brought hither together with some ob-

scure Threats, that if it were not signed, the *Queen* should not be suffered to depart. (By such impious Violences did they make way for that which they call'd *Reformation*.) This His *Majesty* signs, (though after it made a part of His penitential Confessions to God) in hopes that that Bill being once consented to, the Fury of the Faction, which with so great Violence pursued an absolute Destruction of the Ecclesiastical Government, would be abated, as having advanced so far in their design to weaken the *King's* Power in that House by the loss of so many Voices, which would have been always on that side where Equity and Conscience did most appear. But He soon found the Demagogues had not so much Ingenuity as to be compounded with, and they made this but a step to the overthrow of that which He designed to preserve.

When His *Majesty* was come back as far as *Greenwich*, He met with many information how averse the Faction was to Peace, and that their Proceedings were raised to a level with their Principles, which some of them published, *That the Alteration they did intend, and which was necessary both in Church and State, must be made by Blood.* Therefore they endeavoured by their Calumnies to create an Hatred of Him, and to despoil Him

of all the hopeful Effects of His Condescensions. For *when a Prince is once bated, his Benefits do him no less hurt than Injuries.* In order to this, Mr. Pym had publickly charged Him with a Connivence at least if not with the Contrivance of the *Irish* Rebellion: because many Papists had His *Majesties* immediate Warrant for their transport thither. This the *King* requires satisfaction for, shewing the Falshood and Malice of the Defamer, by giving an Account of the date of the several Warrants. But the Faction so far prevailed as to make it a Publick Sin, and the House was perswaded to believe and acknowledge it to be their common sense. Many others had uttered seditious Speeches in the House, especially Master *Marten*, a man of all Uncleanesses, a publick contemner of Religion and Honesty, that had wasted a large Patrimony (which he had likewise unjustly mortgaged to several and different Creditors) in the most infamous Lusts, and sought a greater licence and fresh supplies for them by the ruine of the State; at which he was powerful, being of as impure and lascivious a Wit as he was of Life, wherewith he used to prophane God and His Vicegerents: yet serving the ends of Confusion, had his name among the Catalogue of those that were to do the *Work of the Lord.* Besides the attempts upon His Honour, they endeavour another up-

on His Family, and to seize upon the *Prince*. Which the *King* hearing, sends for Him and the *Duke of York*, and immediately removes to *Theobalds* in order to His journey towards the North, where He intended to settle His abode, till He saw what Issue this Storm would have.

This removal of the *King* was variously censured. "Some thought it unadvisedly
"done, to withdraw so far from *London*, to
"leave His chief City wholly to the practices,
"and expose His Friends there to the Impos-
"tures and Injuries of His Enemies. O-
"thers, especially the Friends of the Faction,
"defamed it as a preparing Himself for that
"War which followed. But others concluded
"it as an act of Necessity, and where there
"was no choice for Prudence. For when He
"had passed more obliging Acts, and parted
"with so much of His Prerogative and so
"many undoubted Rights of His Crown, as
"could not be equalled by the Grants of all
"His Predecessors, yet He found that He had
"effected nothing more by giving, than to
"make the Faction more eagerly desire what
"they knew He must in Honour and Consci-
"ence deny; and that the People were so
"bewitched as not to see, *it is safer to trust*
"*Him who was contented with a less degree of*
"*Power, than those whose ambition and ava-*
"rice

“ *rice knew no bounds* : Who being thus de-
“ luded as so far to administer to the Lusts of
“ their Disturbers, would not fail their assi-
“ stance to seize upon His Person, unless in
“ time He did provide for His Liberty. Nor
“ could it be imagined that He meditated a
“ War, who to make His People happy (if
“ they had not despised their own Mercies)
“ had deprived Himself of a power to ma-
“ nage it. For besides those Acts formerly
“ mentioned, He had signed many other as
“ prejudicial to such an undertaking. For He
“ had passed Acts against His own Power of
“ Impresssing Souldiers, His Right to Ton-
“ nage and Poundage, the Stannary Courts,
“ Clerk of the Market, the Presidial Courts
“ in the North, and Marches of *Wales* ; where-
“ by He had not only diminished His Great-
“ ness, and that Reverence which was due
“ to the Crown, but also so straitened His
“ Revenue as it was not able to main-
“ tain *Discipline, without which no hopes of*
“ *Victory, especially in a Civil War*. Besides,
“ His Enemies in every County had injured
“ His *Fame, which is of great moment in the*
“ *deciding Controversies by the Sword* ; and the
“ City of *London*, which is the grand Trea-
“ surie of the Wealth and Strength of the
“ whole Nation, was now enslaved by the
“ Rabble to their commands. All which con-
“ siderations as they could not escape so Wise
“ a Prince,

" a Prince, so would they not permit the
 " Designs of War, especially in that Breast,
 " to which it was equally miserable to suffer
 " the spilling of His Subjects blood, as to ex-
 " pose Himself to Ruine. So that His de-
 " parture from *London* was not of Design,
 " but Necessity, nor was there in it more of
 " Fear than Shame; for He could no longer
 " endure those detestable *Spectacula* in which
 " Tumults like Beasts were let loose to assault
 " the Majesty of Government.

While the *King* thus provides for His Li-
 berty, the Faction proceed to usurp the *Mili-*
tia, which His Majesty had denied, and the
 Lords were ashamed to ask: therefore they
 privately encourage their Partisans in all the
 Cities and Boroughs where they were most
 powerful, to appoint Musters, to arm and
 train their Youth, and module them into
 Companies; which afterwards (though con-
 trary to the Law) they move the Lower
 House to Vote Legal, and to make an Order
 in the Name of the Parliament for the Con-
 stituting of Deputies to the same purpose in
 every County: and at last, by the Tumult
 which they raised, the Threats they used to
 divulge the names of the dissenting Lords,
 and secret promises to some others (for Mr.
Pym told the Earl of *Dover*, *he must look for*
no Preferment unless he joyned with them) they
 prevailed

prevailed upon the House of Peers, when many of the most eminent were absent, to joyn in a Petition for the *Militia*, upon pretence of great Dangers at home, and more prodigious terrours from abroad, pretending that by Intelligence from *Paris*, *Rome* and *Venice*, they were assured of great designs to overthrow the Parliament, together with the Protestant Religion; (whose fate and Interest they would have it imagined, was so twisted with theirs, that like those Twins they could not laugh nor grieve but in Conjunction.) This Paper being presented to His Majesty, whose Soul was wholly devoted to Peace, when it did not betray Religion and the Trust Heaven had committed unto Him, He proposes to them Expedients whereby they might be associated with Him in the Power of the *Militia*, which Honour and Conscience forbad Him to devest Himself wholly of, and passionately adjures them to lay aside their vain and empty Terrours, whereby they distracted and divided the People, not suffering them to enjoy the Peace and Gracious Concessions wherein He had exceeded the Goodness of all His Predecessors.

But they, who had projected to themselves the whole Power, would not be contented with a Partner in it, and therefore despising His Indulgence, and neglecting His Admonitions,

tions, the next day in furious Votes declared themselves sole Masters of the *Militia*: and to make the People believe there was truth in their false Fears, they command strict Watches to be kept in all suspected places, Beacons to be new set up, the Sea marks to be watched, and the Navy to be new rigged and fitted for the Sea. New Plots were also discovered, and Strange and unheard-of Counsels to murder the most Eminent Patriots are brought to light. *A Taylor in a ditch bears some desperate Cavaliers contriving the Death of Mr. Pym. A Plaister also taken from a Plague-sore was sent into the House to the same person, that the Infection first seising on a Member of the quickest senses, might thence more impetuously diffuse it self upon all the most Grave Senators.* Such like Plots as these, and whatsoever could be devised, were published to make the Vulgar think those demands of the Faction seem modest, (their dangers being so great) which were very unjust.

And lest the *King* should at His coming into the North make use of that Magazine at *Hull* (which at His own Charges He had provided for the *Scotch Expedition*) for His own defence, the Faction, to secure that and the Town for their future purposes, send down *Sir John Hotham*, without any Order or Commission from either House of Parliament, to

seise

seise on them. This Man of a fury and impudence equal to their Commands, when the *King*, petitioned by the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* to employ those Arms and that Ammunition for the Safety and Peace of that County, (where some of the Factious Members of Parliament had begun to form the like Seditions with those of *London*,) would have entred *Hull*, [*Anno* 1642.] *April* 23. insolently shut the Gates upon Him, and would not permit Him, though with but twenty Attendants, for He offered to leave the Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen which followed Him without. The *King* thereupon proclaims him Traytor, and by Letters complains of the Indignity, and requires Satisfaction. But the Faction rendred the Act so glorious, that the House of Commons by their Votes approved what he had done without their Command, and clamored that the *King* had done them an injury, in proclaiming so innocent a Member, Traytor : Ordered the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom they had committed the Command of the Navy, to land some men out of the Ships at *Hull*, and to transport the Magazine there from thence to *London*. An Order of Assistance was also given to several of their Confidants, as a Committee of both Houses to reside at *Hull*, and the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln* were commanded to execute their commands. Besides, they sent a Commission
to

to *Hotbam* to prosecute the Insolencies he had begun, and kindle that War which took fire on the whole Nation, and in a short space consumed him and his Son, who were executed by the Instructors of his Villany: For he fell under that same Fate which attends all the Instruments of Great Crimes, to be Odious and suspected by those that made use of them. Therefore they gave such a power to the Lord *Fairfax* in *York-shire* as did conclude the diminution, and submission of *Hotbam* to His Commands. This caused him to reflect with grief and madness upon his first ministry to the Faction, which appeared every day more monstrous to his Conscience, being now spoiled of that Grandeur that he hoped would have been its reward, and awakened by those Desolations in the whole Kingdom which followed it, and were but as the Copies of his Original Treason. Therefore he thought to expiate his former guilt by surrendring the Town to Him from whom he had detained it. But his practices were discovered to the Faction by One whom they had sent thither in pretence to preach the Gospel, but in truth secretly to search into the intrigues of his Counsels: so that he perished in his design being neither stout nor wise enough in just enterprises, nor of a pertinacy sufficient for a prosperous Perfidiousness. And although in his Ruine the *King* observed how great a draught was offered

ferred to the highest thirst of Revenge, yet He did truly bewail him : and indeed he was so much the more to be pitied, because his cruel Masters deluded him to a silence of their black Secrets with a false hope of Life till the Ax was upon his Neck. So betraying his Soul to a surprise by his Spiritual enemies as his pretended Spiritual Guides had done his Body to them.

The Insolency of *Hotbam*, who acted according to his Instructions and late Commission, beginning acts not usual in Peace, nor justifiable by Law, (for he issued out Warrants for the Trained Bands to march into *Hull* with their Arms, where he forced them to leave them, and nakedly return to their homes, that so they might be obnoxious to his Violence) and the practices of the Committee which were sent down into the North, to debauch the People in their Loyalty, made the *King* intend His own Security by a Guard ; which the Gentry and Commonalty of *Yorkshire*, that were witnesses of the Injury offered to their Prince, did willingly and readily make up. No sooner had the *King* expressed His intention of such a Guard, but the Faction, who were watchful of all opportunities of beginning a War, and ingaging those that either through Fear or Weakness had hitherto submitted to their Impostures in a
more

more obliging guilt, (for now the greatest part of the Peers, who were of the most Ancient Families and Noblest Fortunes, and a very great number of the House of Commons, Persons of just hopes and fair Estates, who perceiving the designs of the Disturbers, scorned any longer to be their Slaves, yet not thinking it safe to provoke the fury of the Vulgar Tumults by a present opposition, had withdrawn from the Parliament to follow the King and His Fortune, and every day some more were still falling off) took this occasion to commence our Miseries, and open those Sluces of Blood which polluted the whole Kingdom. For upon the first Intelligence of it they filled the House of Commons and the City with Clamors, That *His Majesty had now taken Arms to the overthrow of them and the Protestant Religion*; and that *they were not any longer to think the Happiness of the Kingdom did depend upon the King, or any of the Regal Branches of that Stock*; that *it would argue no want either of Duty or Modesty, if they should depose Him*. By these Harangues they so heated the Parliament, that was now more penurious than before in persons of Honour and Conscience, to such a degree of Fury, that unmindful how they themselves for eight months before upon impossible Fears and improbable Jealousies had taken a Guard, they Resolved upon the Question, that the King

by taking to himself such a Guard did intend to levy War against the Parliament. With an equal fury they issue out Commissions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain days for all the Trained Bands to be put into a posture of War, sending down some of their Members to see to the execution of these Commands, and to seise on the Magazines in the several Counties.

To all these their violent and unjust attempts the *King* first opposes the Law, in several Declarations manifests the Power of Arms to be the Ancient and undoubted Right of the Crown, by many Proclamations, charges all Men under the Crime and Penalties of Treason to forbear the Execution of those Ordinances which were published to Licence their Rebellion, and Answers with a wonderful Diligence and Eloquence all the fictitious Pretensions of the Parliament to that Power, in their several Remonstrances. But though the *King* had in the judgment of all understanding and uninteressed persons the Juster Cause, and the more powerful Pen, yet the Faction's Haste, which is most efficacious in Civil Discords, the Slanders they had raised of Him, and impressed in the minds of the People, the terrours of that Arbitrary Power which the House of Commons had a long while exercised in the vexatious prosecution

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of all such as did oppose their imperious Resolves, (for they would by their Messengers send for the Great Earls and Prime Barons of the Kingdom as Rogues and Felons, and weary them and others with a tedious and chargeable Attendance, oppress them with heavy and unproportionable Censures, and restrain them by Illegal Imprisonments) and the hopes of licence and spoil in the ruine of Church and State, had so preoccupied the Minds of the inferiour Multitude, that neither Law nor Religion could have the least consideration in their practices; and those Persons whom His Majesty appointed as Commissioners of *Array*, in few places found that Obedience which was due to the just Commands of a Gracious Prince, who vainly expected that Reverence to Justice in others which Himself gave.

After the experience of their Power in these their Successes at Land, and having gotten the whole Navy at Sea, being made Masters of the most and greatest Strengths of the Kingdom, they then thought it might be safe for them to publish the aims and ends of their most destructive designs; which if sooner manifested, when the *King* by His Message of 20. of *January* from *Windsor Castle* advised them to *prescribe the limits of their Privileges, give full Boundaries to His own Power,*
and

and propose what was in their judgements proper to make the People happy; and most religiously promised an equal tenderneſs of theirs and the Peoples Rights as of His own, and what was for the Publick Good ſhould not be obſtructed for His Particular emolument; they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves all that popular hatred which they endeavoured to fling upon the King, and had been buried under thoſe ruines which they projected for the Grave of Maſteſty. But then the Faction conſidered not ſo much in their own force, nor were the Vulgar then ſo blinded with fury as to chuſe their own Deſtruction: and therefore to that Meſſage of Peace nothing was returned but Complaints, That by ſuch Adviſoes their Counſels were diſturbed, that it was contrary to their unbounded Privileges to be minded of what was neceſſary. But now they were furniſhed with a Power equal to their Ambition, they thought it expedient to confirm their newly-gotten Empire with ſome pretenſions to Peace; but with a great deal of Caution, that the affectation of it might not diſappoint them of their hopes, which were all built upon War and Confuſion. Therefore they formed the Conditions ſuch as the King could not in Honour or Conſcience grant them, nor expect Peace by them. Or if He did, they ſhould be inſtated in ſuch a Grandeur, that they might reap for themſelves all the reproachful

proachful Honours and unlawful gains of an Arbitrary Power, the thing they aimed at, and leave the *King* overwhelmed with shame and contempt for their miscarriages in Government. These Conditions were digested into Nineteen Propositions; which when presented to the *King*, He saw by an assent to them He should be concluded to have deposed Himself, and be but as an helpless and idle Spectator of the Miseries such Tyrants would bring upon the People whom God had committed to His Trust. Therefore He gave them that denial which they really desired and expected, and adjusts His refusal in a Declaration, wherein He sets forth the Injustice of each Proposition. His Answer He sent by the Marquess of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*, Persons of great Integrity and Prudence, with Instructions to Treat in the House of Peers upon more equal Conditions.

But it behoved the Faction not to let the Kingdom see any way to Peace, therefore denying any admittance to those Lords, before ever the *King's* Answer could publickly discover who were the obstructours of the Peoples quiet, they Ordered a Collection to be made of Money and Plate, to maintain Horse, Horse-men and Arms for the ensuing War. The specious Pretences for which were *the Safety of the King's Person, and the taking*
Him

Him out of the hands of Evil Counsellors, the Defence of the Priviledges of Parliament, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the maintenance of the Ancient Laws of the Land. Such inviting causes as these inflamed the Minds of the Multitude, and filled them with more airy hopes of Victory than the noise of Drums and Trumpets: But that which was most powerful were the Sermons of such who, being displeased with the present Ecclesiastical Government, were promised the richest Benefices, and a partage of the Revenues which belonged to Bishops, Deans and Chapiters. These from their Pulpits proclaimed War in the Name of Christ the Prince of Peace, and whatsoever was contributed to the spilling of the blood of the Wicked, was to build up the Throne of the meekest Lamb; and besides the satisfaction they were to expect from the Publick Faith, which the Parliament promised, there was a larger Interest to be doubled upon them in the Kingdom of Saints that was now approaching. Deluded by these Artifices and Impostures, People of all Conditions and all Sexes, some carried by a secret Instinct, others hurried by some furious Zeal, and a last sort led by Covetousness, cast into this Holy Treasury the Banck for Blood, all the Ornaments of their Family, all their Silver Vessels, even to their Spoons, with the Pledges of their first Love,

their Marriage-rings; and the younger Females spared not their Thimbles and Bodkins, the obliging Gifts of their *Inamorato's*, from being a part of the Price of Blood. But while these Preparations were made at *London*, the King at *York* Declares against the Scandal, that *He intended to Levy War against the Parliament*, calling God to witness how far *He* desires and thoughts were from it; and also those many Lords who were witnesses of *His* Counsels and Actions, do publish to the World by a Writing subscribed with all their Names, to the number of Forty and odd, that *they saw not any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such Design, and were fully perswaded that He had no such intention.*

But all was in vain, for the Faction chose that the People should be rather guilty of committing Rebellion, than only of favouring the Contrivers of it, and decreed to try whether by a prosperous Success they could change their Crimes to Vertue. Therefore they hastened all they could to raise Horse and Foot to form an Army equal to their Usurpation: which was not difficult for them to do, for they being Masters of *London*, whose Multitudes desirous of Novelty were easily amassed for any enterprize, especially when the entering into this Warfare might
make

make the Servant freer than his Master, (for such was the Licence was indulged to those Youths that would serve the Cause) 20000 were sooner gathered than the *King* could get 500. The City also could afford them more Ordnance than the *King* could promise to Himself common Muskets: and to pay their Souldiers, besides the vast summs that were gathered for *Ireland* (which though they by their own Act had decreed should not be used for any other enterprize, yet now dispence with their Faith, and imploy it to make *England* as miserable as that Island) and the Contributions of the deluded souls for this War; they seized also upon the Revenues of the *King*, *Queen*, *Prince*, and *Bishops*, and plunder the Houses of those Lords and Gentlemen whom they suspected to be Favourers of the *King's* Cause. And in contemplation of these advantages, they promised their credulous party an undoubted Victory, and to lead Majesty Captive in Triumph through *London* within a Month, by the Conduct of the Earl of *Essex*, whom they appointed General.

Thus did they drive that Just and Gracious *Prince* to seek His Safety by necessary Arms, since nothing worse could befall Him after a stout, though unhappy, Resistance than He was to hope for in a tame Submission

to their Violence. Therefore though He perfectly abhorred those Sins which are the Consequences of War, yet He wanted not Courage to attempt at Victory, notwithstanding it seemed almost impossible against so well-appointed an Enemy. Therefore with an incredible diligence moving from place to place, from *York* to *Nottingham*, from thence to *Shrewsbury*, and the Confines of *Wales*, by discovering those Abilities with which His Soul was richly fraught unto His deluded Subjects, He appeared not only worthy of their Reverence, but of their Lives and Fortunes for His Defence; and in all places encouraging the Good with His Commendations, exciting the Fearful by His Example, dissuabling the Imperfections of His Friends, but always praising their Vertues, He so prevailed upon those who were not men of many Times, nor by a former Guilt debauch'd to Inhumanity, that He had quickly contracted an Army greater than His Enemies expected, and which was every day increased by those Lords and Gentlemen who refused to be polluted any longer with the practices of the Faction by sitting among them, and being Persons of large Fortunes had raised their Friends and Tenants to succour that Majesty that now laboured under an Eclipse. Most men being moved with Pity and Shame to see their Prince, whose former Reign had made them
wanton

wanton in Plenty, to be driven from His own Palaces, and concluded under a want of Bread, to be necessitated to implore their aid, for the preservation of His and their Rights. So that notwithstanding all the Impostures of the Faction and the Corruptions of the Age, there were many great Examples of Loyalty and Vertue. Many Noble Persons did almost impoverish themselves to supply the *King* with Men and Money. Some Private men made their way through numerous dangers to joyn with, and fight under his Colours. Many great Ladies and Vertuous Matrons parted with the Ornaments of their Sex to relieve His wants, and some bravely defended their Houses in His Cause when their Lords were elsewhere seeking Honour in his Service. Both the Universities freely devoted their Plate to succour their Prince, the Supreme Patron and Incourager of all Learning; and the Queen pawned Her Jewels to provide Necessaries for the Safety of Her Husband. Which Duty of Hers, though it deserved the Honour of all Ages, was branded by the Demagogues with the imputation of Treason.

This sudden and unexpected growth of the Strength of the *King* after so many years of Slanders, and such industrious Plots to make Him odious and Contemptible, raised the

the admiration of all men, and the fears of that credulous Party who had given up their Faith to the Faction, when they represented the *King* guilty of so much Folly and Vice (and some corrupted Citizens had represented Him as a Prodigy of both in a Scene at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, an Art used by Jesuites to impress more deeply a Calumny,) that they could not imagine any person of Prudence or Conscience would appear in His Service, and they expected every day when, deserted by all as a Monster, He should in Chains deliver Himself up to the Commands of the Parliament. “ Some attributed this strange increase “ in power to the natural Affection of the English to their Lawful Sovereign, from whom “ though the Arts and Impulses of Seditious Demagogues may a while estrange and divorce “ their minds, yet their Genius will irresistibly “ at last force them to their first Love; and “ therefore they urged the saying of that Observing States-man, that if the Crown of “ England were placed but on an Hedge-stake, “ he would be on that side where the Crown was. “ Others referred it to the full evidence of “ the wickedness of His Adversaries, for their “ Counsels were now discovered, and their “ Ends manifest, not to maintain the Common Liberty, which was equally hateful to “ them as Tyranny when it was not in their “ hands, but to acquire a Grandeur and Power “ that

" that might secure and administer to their
 " Lusts: and it was now every where pub-
 " lished what Mr. *Hambden* Answered to one
 " who inquired *What they did expect from the*
 " *King*; he replied, *That He should commit*
 " *Himself and all that is His to our Care.* O-
 " thers ascribed it to the fears of ruine to
 " those numerous Families and Myriads of
 " people which the change of Government
 " designed by the Parliament must necessarily
 " effect. But this, though it argued that
 " *Cause exceeding bad by which so great a part*
 " *of a Community is utterly destroyed, without*
 " *any absolute necessity for preserving the whole;*
 " yet made but an inconsiderable Addition
 " to the *King*, whose greatest Power was
 " built upon Persons of the Noblest Extract
 " and the fairest Estates in *England*, of which
 " they could not easily suspect to be devested
 " without an absolute overthrow of all the
 " Laws of Right and Wrong, which never-
 " theless was to be feared by their invasions
 " on the *King's* most undoubted Rights. For
 " *when Majesty it self is assaulted, there can be*
 " *no security for private Fortunes; and those*
 " *that decline upon design from the paths of E-*
 " *quity will never rest till they come to the Ex-*
 " *tremity of Injustice;* as these afterwards did.
 " Besides those that imputed the speedy amas-
 " sing of these Forces to the Equity of the
 " *King's Cause, His most Powerful Eloquence,*
 " Indefa-

110 *The LIFE of*

“Indefatigable Industry, and most Oblig-
 “ing Converse; there were another sort
 “that suspending their Judgements till all
 “the Scenes of War were passed, resolved
 “all into the Providence of God: Who
 “though He were pleased to single Him out
 “of all the Kings of the Earth as the fittest
 “Champion to wrestle with Adversity, and
 “to make Him glorious by *Sufferings*, which
 “*being well born truly prove men Great*; yet
 “would He furnish Him (almost by a Mira-
 “cle) likewise with such Advantages, in the
 “conduct of which His Prudence and Mag-
 “nanimity might evidence that He did de-
 “serve Prosperity, and by clearing up even
 “this way His eminent Vertues, warn the
 “following Ages from a Credulity to unquiet
 “Persons, since the best of Princes was thus
 “infamously slandered.

From all these concurring Causes, each one
 in their Way and Order, did the *King's*
 strength so far increase, as that He won many
 Battels, and was not far from Conquest in
 the Whole War; had not God seen fit to af-
 flict this sinful Nation with Numerous and
 most Impious Tyrants, and make us feel, that
no Oppressions are so unsupportable as those which
are imposed by such as have made the highest
Pretensions to Liberty: of which we had bit-
 ter experience after the War was finished that

was

was now begun. For there had been some slight Conflicts e're this in the several Counties betwixt the Commissioners of *Array* and the *Militia*, with various Successes; which require just Volumes and compleat Histories to relate, and cannot be comprehended in the short View of the *King's* Life, where it is only intended to speak of those Battels in which the King in Person gave sufficient evidence of His Wisdom and Valour. The first of which was at *Edge-Hill* on *Octob. 23.* For the *King* had no sooner gotten a considerable Force, though not equal to those of His Enemies, but He marched towards *London*, and in His way thither met with *Essex's* Army that were come from thence to take Him. The *King* having viewed their Army by a Prospective-glass from the top of that Hill, and being asked afterwards by His Officers what He meant to do, *To give them battel* (said He with a present Courage) *it is the first time I ever saw the Rebels in a body: God, and good mens Prayers to Him, assist the Justice of My Cause:* and immediately prepared for the Fight; which was acted with such a fury, that near 6000 (according to the common Account, but some say a far less number) were slain upon the place. Night concluded this Battel, which had comprehended the whole War, had not the *King's* prevailing Horse preferr'd the Spoils to Victory, and left the
Enemy

Enemy some advantage to dispute for her. But the *King* had all the fairest marks of her favour. For though He had lost His General, yet He kept the Field, possessed the dead Bodies, opened His way toward *London*, and in the sight of some part of the Army of *Essex*, (who accounted it a Victory that He was not totally routed and killed,) took *Banbury*, and entred Triumphantly into *Oxford* (which He had designed for His Winter-quarters) with 150 Colours taken in fight. And having assured that place, He advances towards *London*, whither *Essex* had gotten before Him, and disposed his baffled Regiments within ten miles of the City; yet the *King* fell upon two Regiments of them at *Brainford*, took 500 Prisoners, and sunk their Ordnance. From thence intending to draw nearer *London*, He had intelligence, that the City had poured forth all their Auxiliaries to re-inforce *Essex's* Troops; to which being unwilling to oppose His Souldiers wearied with their March, nor thinking it safe to force an Enemy to fight upon *Necessity*, which *inspires a more than Ordinary Fury*, He retreats to *Oxford*, having taught His Enemies, that He was not easily to be Overcome.

For in the management of this Battel, He did not only undeceive the abused world of those Slanders which His Enemies had polluted

ted Him with, but He exceeded that Opinion His own Party had of His Abilities. And though He parted from *London* altogether unexperienced in Martial affairs, yet at *Edge-Hill* He appeared a most Excellent Commander. His Valour was also equal to His Prudence, and He could as well endure Labours as despise Dangers. And by a communication of toils, encouraged His Souldiers to keep the Field all the night, when they saw He refused the refreshments of a Bed ; for He sought no other Shelter from the injuries of the Air than His own Coach. These Vertues and this Success made such an impression on the Parliament, that though they took all courses to hide the Infamy of their worsted Army, yet in more humble Expressions than formerly they Petitioned the *King* for a Treaty of Peace, which His Majesty very earnestly embraced. But the Faction, who were frightened with these Tendencies to an Accommodation, cause some of the City to Petition against it, and to make profer of their Lives and Fortunes for the prosecution of the War. Encouraged by this they form their Propositions like the Commands of Conquerours, and so streighten the Power and Time of their Commissioners, that the Treaty at *Oxford* became fruitless, which there had taken up all the *King's* employment this Winter, though abroad His Forces were busie in several

veral Parts of the Nation, not without honour.

[*Anno 1643.*] At the opening of the Spring the Queen comes back to *England*, bringing with Her some considerable Supplies of Men, Money and Ammunition, and Her coming was entertained with such a Series of Successes, that the *King* that Summer was Master of the North and West, except some few Garrisons. Which so dismayed the Parliament, that very many of them were preparing to quit the Kingdom: and had the *King* followed His own Counsels, to march immediately towards *London*, and not been fatally over-born at a Council of War, (which, it is said, His Enemies at *London* did assure their Party would so be) first to attempt *Gloucester*, He had, in the judgment of all discerning men, then finished the War with Glory. But here He lay so long till *Essex* had gotten a Recruit from *London*, and came time enough to relieve the Town; though in his return the *King* necessitated him to fight, worsted him near *Newbery*, and so bravely followed him the next day, that He forced the Parliaments Horse which were left in the Reer to seek their safety by making their way over a great part of their Foot; yet lost on His side much Noble Blood, as the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, and Viscount *Falkland*,

land. This last was lamented by all, being equally dexterous at the Pen and Sword, had won some Wreathes in those Controversies that were to be managed by Reason, and was eminent in all the Generous parts of Learning, above any of his Fortune and Dignity. After this Encounter the *King* returns to *Oxford*, to Consult with those Members of both Houses that had left the Impositions and Tumults at *London*, to joyn with Him for the common benefit, who being as to the Peers the far greater, and as to the Commons an equal Number with those at *Westminster*, they assumed the Name and Authority of Parliament, and deliberated of the ways of Peace, and means to prevent the Desolations which the Faction so furiously designed, who were now resolving to encrease our Miseries by Calling in the *Scots* to their assistance.

For though they pretended so highly, to God's Cause, as if they had the certainty of some Divine Revelation, yet they would not trust Him for their Preservation, notwithstanding their pretences to his Cause had furnished them with so vast a Treasure and so mighty a Strength; but would invite others to the Violation of most sacred Oaths, to sin against all Laws and every Rule of Justice, that themselves might be secure in their Usurpations. And that Perfidious Party that then

ruled in *Scotland*, hoping for as great advantages as their former Wickedness had yielded, contrary to all Obligations which the *King's* Goodness had laid on them, and their free and Voluntary Execrations, (as was that of *Alexander Lesley*, who lifting up his arms and hands to Heaven, wished *they might rot to his body before he died, if ever he should heave them up hereafter, or draw his sword, against so gude a King,*) drew that People once more into Rebellion against their Prince; and to make them more eager, and think the Enterprize easie, they first raised a report that the *King* was deserted by most of His Nobility.

The Parliament at *Oxford* having by a Letter moved the Earl of *Essex* to endeavour Peace, did also declare against this Invasion of the *Scots* by another Letter sent to them, in which also they acquaint them with the falleness of their officious Lie, and shew how inconsiderable a Number of Lords were with those that invited them in. The *King* Himself writes also to put them in mind of their several Engagements to be Quiet. But with an insolencie fit for most perjured Souls, they Commanded the Letters to be burned by the hand of the Hangman. A more secret fallhood He also found in the Marquess *Hamilton*, whose Treasons now came to be more suspected.

For

For His Majesty having written to him, to use all his Power and Interest to keep his Country-men at home, (which had not been difficult for one of his Grandeur in that unquiet Nation) he by some secret Arts doth more inflame them; and to cover his Perfidiousness, flies from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, as seeking a shelter for his Loyalty; but indeed to be a Spy in the *King's* Counsels. But his Treasons had out-stripp'd him and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanerick*, who came with him, therefore they were both forbidden the Court. *Lanerick* not willing to tarry till a further Discovery, gets out of *Oxford*, flies to those at *London*, and by them was employed in the *Scotch* Army; which made *Hamilton's* Treachery more evident, and he was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle. But the dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the Gallantry and Faithfulness of the Marquess *Montross*, who being commission'd by the *King*, with an incredible Industry by small numbers of men won many Battels, and overthrew well-formed Armies: and had not the Fate of his Master, which was to be betrayed by those He trusted, been likewise common to him, he had forced that Nation to Justice and Quiet.

But e're *Montross* could get his Commission, the *Scots* were entred *England*: whose com-

ing that it might be less odious to the People, who now grew cold in their zeal to the Cause, and saw themselves deluded into so continued dangers, the Faction make use of such frauds as should make the People either think them necessary assistances, or might divert their thoughts from apprehending the Miseries they brought with them to this Nation; therefore they invent new Slanders of the King and His Party. *That His Majesty did intend to translate Monarchy into a Tyranny: that He would seize upon all their Estates who had any way opposed Him, and make their persons Slaves: that there was no hope of Pardon from Him, who was so merciless: that He would take away all their Liberties and Privileges as forfeited, destroy the Protestant Religion, and introduce Popery, which at Oxford He did practise Himself, and that all men must be forced to go to Mass.* As for His Party they set them out to be such Monsters, that the lower sort of People doubted whether the Cavaliers had the shapes of men. For sad Relations were printed and published of their inhumanity and barbarous murders: *that they did feast upon the Flesh of Men, and that they fed their Dogs and their Horses with the same Diet, to make them more fierce for the blood of the Godly Party: that no mans house was so poor and mean that a Cavalier would think beneath his rapine.* Thus they wrought upon the melancholy

choly spirits of some by fear. For those of a morose and cholerick temper they had proper divertisements : they permitted to them a tumultuary Reformation, to pull down the Pictures and Images of Christ, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints ; which with great Solemnity they committed to the flames, that they might suffer as it were another Martyrdom. All Crosses, though set up for Ornament and Use in the Streets of *London*, and other places, they pulled down : they invade the Churches, and there deface what their Humour or Rapine would call Superstition, pull down the Organs, tear the Surplices ; and all this was suffered to please the Rabble, who delight in violences and such ostentations of their fury, and to make them in something or other guilty, that they might despair of Pardon.

For others, who were to be wrought upon by Religion, they entertain them with Fasts, publick Thanksgivings for slight Victories, and solemn Spiritual meetings (as they called them ;) where whatsoever the Faction dictated was commended by the Speakers to their unwary hearers as the Oracles of Heaven : and being thus wrapp'd up in those true delights which accompany the Worship of God, they were securely swallowed by them, as Poison when it is offered in a Sacramental

Chalice. To please their Ministers whom hitherto they had used as their Properties and Instruments of their Arts, Presbytery is set up, that they also might have an Imaginary Empire: but it was not intended they should exercise it. For the pretensions of that to a *Divine Right* did so terrifie them who were resolved against all Government that was not subject unto or dependent on theirs, that they presently raised all the other Sects, *Independents*, *Erasians*, (who for the most part were Lawyers, that could not endure to hear of any Thunderbolts of Excommunication, but what was heated in their own forges) *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, and *Atheists* (of which there were many sprung up, who seeing how Religion was abused to carnal and unjust Ends, began first to despise that, and afterwards to deny God) to write and declaim against this new Politie, as the most severe and absolute Tyranny under the Sun, and the tenth Persecution. But this seeming modesty of admitting a Church-Government served their ends for the present, till they could acquire a greater strength, in confidence of which they might slight the Terrors of the Law, and the Anathema's of the Church. The Liturgy also was abolished, under pretence of a Spiritual Liberty, for it was accused of putting a restraint upon the Spirit, but in truth, because it had so frequent Offices

Offices for the *King*. To these were added the Covenant, the Fetters of the *Scotish* Slavery : this was to bind the whole Nation to the Interests of the Faction, and was used as the *Water of Jealousie*, to discover those whom they did suspect. Therefore all the Conspirators, of what Sect soever, whether Independents or Anabaptists, though they refused to take it themselves, (because it did oblige to the Preservation of the *King's* Person and Authority) yet were as eager Imposers of it as the Presbyterians (who in simplicity urged it as the Fundamental Constitution of their Empire) upon all who they thought would not prostitute their Souls to their designs, or had any thing fit to be made their Spoils. And by this only Engine many thousand Persons and Families were miserably ruined, especially of the Clergy.

To oblige more fastly those that had no patience to expect nor hopes to receive any reward for their Service against their *Prince* in the other life, and so would not be satisfied with the shews of Religion, but sought more solid encouragements in the spoils of it, the Lands of the Bishops were exposed to sale, and that at such easie rates as might invite the hazards of the Purchase, satiate their boundless Covetousness, and ingage them in a per-

tinacious faith to their Merchants. To cement all these distinct Humours in one common pleasure, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was prepared for a Sacrifice, and about this time began his Tryal, which continued a whole year, being when the Houses were at leisure called by several months and weeks to answer to his Charge, that by his frequent passages as a Prisoner he might give a pleasant Diversion to the *Rabble, who are delighted with the ruines and misfortunes of great Persons*, and by their injuries and reproaches he might be reduced to such a weakness of Spirit as was not competent with the defence of his Cause. But his Cause and his Conscience were impregnable, and he overthrew their Slanders, though he could not their Power.

By these Arts and Ways was the Winter spent to prepare for the attempts of the following Summer, wherein, [*Anno 1644.*] though the Parliaments Forces increased by the *Scotish* Succours had the Success over several bodies of the Royalists, yet that small Number that followed the *King's* Person, and were guided by His own Counsels and Example, obtained two great Victories. For His Majesty having once more provided for the Safety of the Queen, (in sending Her to *Excester*, there to lay down the burden of Her Love, and from thence to seek for She-

ter in *France*) taken (contrary to their hopes) His last farewell of Her, and left *Oxford* strengthened against the Siege which the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller* threatened that place with, He with a small party draws out, intending to form His Counsels according to the future Occurrences. This made the Enemy divide, and *Essex* was designed to reduce the West. But *Waller*, with whom usually went Sir *Arthur Heselrigge* (a Person fitter to raise Seditious Tumults than manage Armies) was to hunt the *King* upon the Mountains of *Wales*, towards which He seemed to direct His course. But hearing of the resolutions of these two jealous Generals, He wheels about to *Oxford*, and from thence drew the greatest strength of that Garrison, and with that falling upon *Waller* at *Cropredy-bridge*, obtained a great Victory; which would have been more prejudicial to the Enemy, had not the Tenderneſs of His Subjects Blood restrained Him from prosecuting His Success to a greater slaughter. But contenting Himself to have diverted Injuries from His own breast, He only used this Victory for an advantage to Peace, which in a Letter from *Evesham*, July 4. He moves the Parliament unto.

But the unquiet Criminals rendred it vain and fruitless, and represented to the People
their

their yet prevailing Forces in the North, and their Army in the West, which had now taken in some considerable places to their Obedience. Therefore to remove their Confidence in *Essex's* Power, the *King* follows him, and so closely pursues him, that He drove him up into *Cornwall*, and there did as it were besiege him. During which He sent a Letter to him, which was seconded by another from the Lords and Gentlemen in His Army, to sollicite His endeavours for the Peace and Quiet of the bleeding and wasted Kingdom. But it met not its desired effect: Because that Earl either valued not that solid Glory of being the happy Author of a Nations Settlement; or feared that his past Actions had wholly despoiled him of hopes of Security in a return to Obedience, or knew that his Authority was not so great to put an Issue to those Crimes which he had led others to commit. (*For every inconsiderable person may be powerfull at Disturbances, but to form Peace requires much Wisdom and great Vertues.*) Which last was generally believed, for he had found and complained that his Credit declined with the Faction, that they were distrustful lest their own Arts might teach him to have no faith to them, because he often solicited them to a composing of the Kingdoms Distractions. Therefore making no return to those Letters, he provided for his

his own safety in a *Cock-boat*, and ignominiously deserted his Army; of which the Horse, taking the advantage of a dark night, made their escape, but the Commanders of the Foot did capitulate for their Lives, and left their Arms, Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, to the Disposal of the *King*.

The speedy and prudent acquisition of these two Victories shewed the *King* had those Abilities that might have inserted Him in the Catalogue of the Bravest Commanders; and had not want of Success in His following Enterprises clouded the Glory of this Summer, He had been as eminent among the Masters of War as He was among the Sons of Peace, the Honour of which last He most eagerly thirsted, as rendering Him most like that Majesty He did represent. Therefore after this Victory, by a Letter from *Tavestock*, Sept. 8. He re-inforces that from *Evesham* for an Accord with the Parliament, being not transported from His Lenity by the Violence with which Victory uses to hurry humane breasts to an insolence. But He knew that *Peace, though it is profitable to the Conquered, yet it is glorious for the Conquerour*. To busie His Army while He expected their Answer, and formed an Association in the Western Counties, He sits down before *Plymouth*; but finding this Message had an equal reception

tion with the former, and that the Faction intended not to sacrifice their ill-acquired Power and Usurped Interests to the publick Tranquillity, He rises from thence, and marches towards *London*, from whence were by this time in the way to meet Him *Essex* and *Waller* recruited, and joyned with the Earl of *Manchester's* Forces that were now returned from their Northern Services. And at *Newbury* both sides joyn in an eager Fight, which being varied with different successes, in the several divisions, each party draw off by degrees, and neither found cause to boast of a Victory.

The *King* being returned to *Oxford*, the Parliament wearied with the Complaints of the oppressed Nation, who now grew impatient under the Distractions, take into Consideration His Majesty's two Messages for Peace, and send Propositions for it in the name of the two Parliaments of *England*, and *Scotland*, united by Solemn League and Covenant. Which though they seemed the desires of minds that intended nothing less than the common Tranquillity, yet the *King* neglects them not, but hoping that in a Treaty Commissioners might argue them into Reason, offers it, which with much difficulty the Houses are drawn to accept; but yet would have it at *Uxbridge*, a place but about fifteen miles distant

distant from *London*, and above twice that distance from *Oxford*. And accordingly Commissioners from both Parties met on *Jan. 30.* While the *King* was providing for the Treaty, and forming Instructions for His Ministers, the Faction found the Parliament other work by new designs; and to habituate the People to an abhorrency of Peace, fed them with blood. The two *Hotham's* first were to be the Sport of the Multitude: and that the Father might have more than a single death, he was drawn back in his journey to the Scaffold, *Decemb. 31.* that his Son might be executed before him, as he was *Jan. 1.* when after he had expressed his fury to those Masters whom they had served to their ruines, his Head was chopt off. And on *Jan. 2.* the Father is brought to the place that was defiled with his Son's blood, and had his own added to it. These were not much lamented by any, for the memory that they first kindled the Flame of the Nation kept every eye dry.

The People thus fed with courser blood, a cleaner Sacrifice was afterwards presented, *Willam Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Primate* of all *England*. He had indured Imprisonment four years, and passed through a Tryal of many months, in which he had acquitted himself with such a confidence as became

came the Innocency and Constancy of a Christian Bishop and Confessor, but yet must fall to please the *Scots*, and those merciless men who imputed God's anger in the difficulties of Success against their Prince, to the continuance of this Prelate's Life: therefore he was Voted Guilty of High Treason by the House of Commons, and was condemned in the House of Peers (though they have no power over the life of the meanest Subject without the concurrence of the *King*) when

Some Writers (who since have been convinced of their mis-information) have named amongst those Seven Lords, the Lord *Bruce* Earl of *Elgin*; but his Lordship upon the first notice of this report, did to several Persons of Quality and Honour he conversed with, and since hath affirmed to me, that he was not then present, and that his heart could never consent to the shedding of the blood of that Excellent Prelate.

there were but Seven Lords present, and all those not consenting to the Murder, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. And this was the first Example of murdering Men by Votes, of killing by an Order of Parliament, when there is no Law. It was moved (they say) by some that he might be shipp'd over to *New-England*, to die by the Contempt and Malice of those People. But this seem-

ed too great an Honour, because it would make his end as his life was, much like that of the Primitive Bishops, who for their Piety were banished to Barbarous Coasts, or condemned to the Mines. Or else it would be like

like an *Athenian* Ostracism, and confess him too great and good to live among us. Therefore this motion was rejected ; yet the Lords upon his Petition, to the distaste of some Commons, changed the manner of that vile Execution to that more generous of being beheaded. To the Scaffold he was brought Jan. 10. after he had endured some affronts in his Antichamber in the Tower by some Sons of Schism and Sedition, who unseasonably that morning he was preparing himself to appear before the great Bishop of our Souls, would have him give some satisfaction to the Godly (for so they called themselves) for his Persecutions, (which he called Discipline.) To whom he Answered, *That he was now shortly to give account of all his Actions at an higher and more equal Tribunal, and desired he might not be disturbed in his Preparations for it.* When he came to the Scene of his death, he appeared with that chearfulness and serenity in his face, as a good Conscience doth beautifie the owners with : and it was so conspicuous, that his Enemies, who were ashamed to see his Innocency pourtraied in his Countenance, did report he had drunk some Spirits, to force his nature from a paleness. He preached his own Funeral Sermon on that Text, *Hebr. 12. 2.* and concluding his life with Prayer, submitted himself to the stroke of the Ax.

“ He

“ He was a Person of so great *Abilities*
“ (which are the *Designations of Nature to Digni-*
“ *nity and Command,*) that they raised him
“ from low beginnings to the highest Office
“ the Protestant Profession acknowledges in
“ the Church. And he was equal to it. His
“ Learning appear’d eminent in his Book
“ against *Fisher*, and his Piety illustrious in
“ his Diary (although published by One that
“ was thirsty of his blood, and polluted with
“ many malicious Comments and false Surmises
“ to make him odious.) He was of so Pub-
“ lick a Spirit, that both the Church and
“ State have lasting Monuments of the Ver-
“ tuous use of his Princes favour; at his Ad-
“ mittance into which he dedicated all the fu-
“ ture Emoluments of it to the Glory of God
“ and the Good of Men, by a Projection of
“ many noble Works: most of which he
“ accomplished, and had finished the rest had
“ not the Fate of the Nation checked the cur-
“ rent of his Designs, and cut off the Course
“ of his Life. He was not contented by him-
“ self only to serve his Generation, (for so
“ he might have appeared more greedy of
“ Fame, than desirous of the Universal Bene-
“ fit) but he endeavoured to render all others
“ as heroick, if they aimed at a Capacity for
“ his Friendship: for (I have heard it from
“ his Enemies) no great man was admitted

“ to a confidence and respect with him, unless
“ he made his address by some Act that was
“ for the Common Good, or for the Orna-
“ ment and Glory of the Protestant Faith.
“ Learned men had not a better Friend, nor
“ Learning it self a greater Advancer; he
“ searched all the Libraries of *Asia*, and from
“ several parts of the World purchased all the
“ Ornaments and Helps of Literature he could;
“ that the *English* Church might have (if pos-
“ sible) by his Care as many Advantages for
“ Knowledge as almost all *Europe* did contri-
“ bute to the Grandeur of that of *Rome*:
“ The outward Splendour of the Clergy was
“ not more his Care than their Honour by a
“ grave and pious Conversation; he would
“ put them into a power of doing more good,
“ but was severe against their Vices and Va-
“ nities. He scorned a private Treasure, and
“ his Kindred were rather relieved than rais-
“ ed to any greatness by him. In his Electi-
“ on of Friends, he was determinated to the
“ Good and Wise, and such as had both Parts
“ and Desires to profit the Church had his
“ closest Embraces; if otherwise it happened,
“ their frauds, not his choice, deserved the
“ blame. Both Papists and Sectaries were
“ equally his Enemies, one party feared, and
“ the other hated his Vertues. Some cen-
“ sured him of too much Heat, and a Zeal
“ for Discipline above the Patience of the

"Times. But his greatest unhappiness, was,
"that he lived in a Factious Age, and Cor-
"rupt State, and under such a Prince, whose
"Vertues not admitting an immediate ap-
"proach for Accusations, was to be wound-
"ed in those whom He did Careffe. But
"when Faction and Malice are worn out by
"time, Posterity shall ingrave him in the Albe
"of the Most Excellent Prelates, the most
"indulgent Fathers of the Church, and the
"most injured Martyrs. His blood was accom-
panied with some tears that fell from those
Eyes which expected a pleasure at his Death,
and it had been followed with a more gene-
ral mourning, had not the Publick Miseries,
and present fears of Ruine exacted all the
Stock of Grief for other objects.

About this time the Faction clove into two
Sects, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, which
hitherto had been united under one name of
Patriots, or *Godly*, had joyntly conspired
War and disturbed the Peace, and by vari-
ous Arts had acted all their lusts under the
name and Authority of Parliament. For
they would either early in the morning before
the House was full, or late at night, when
those whose cares were most for the Publick
were absent, being assured of the Speaker,
propose and Vote what served for their De-
sign. If any thing contrary to it was about

to be resolved in a full Assembly, they by multitude of Scruples would so disturb the Debates, that the determination was deferr'd to a desired Opportunity. But if these failed, then would they surprise the House with another Vote that should weaken and hinder the Execution of the former. When the most conscientious were too numerous for them, then would they make necessities to send the less pliant to their wills into the Country. Thus the Lesser, but more industrious, Party did circumvent the Greater, that were not so wary nor diligent. While they thus joyntly contrive the Publick Ruine; they had gotten themselves into the most considerable and profitable Offices of the Kingdom. But the *Presbyterians* having the advantage in Number and Power, and the dissension in their Opinions growing still higher, by the Animosities of the inferiour and obscurer parts of their Sects, there was neither Faith nor Love among them, but what Fear and Necessity did force them unto. The *Independents*, who comprehended all the several herds of Hereticks, *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, *Millenaries*, &c. though they were the Disciples of the other. yet excelled their Masters in Art and Industry, had their private *Junto's* and meetings apart to mould their Projects, and assign to each of their Confidants their several Scenes and Methods; and, by proper

Applications to mens several humours, had exceedingly encreased their strength in the Multitude, only they wanted the Power of the Sword, and the most useful Offices to perfect their Empire.

This they effected by those very practices they had learned from the *Presbyterians* : and by procuring the Ordinance of *Self-denial*, (as they called it) they turned out *Essex* (whom they had before secretly caused to be suspected, and who had neither glory in his War, nor security or quiet in his Peace) from his Generalship, and with him also the other Leaders that were favourers of the *Presbytery*, under pretence that it was not fit that any Members of Parliament should be encouraged to a continuance of the War, by enjoying the profitable and powerful Offices in the Army, to which they would now give a new *Module*. Having by this Artifice displaced those whose Power they feared, they brought in as many Candidates of their own Sect as they could to be Colonels, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was appointed General. This Man both Parties did the more easily consent in, because he was known to be of sufficient Personal Valour, and of no private Designs, obstinate by a natural Melancholy, rather than pertinacious in any Interest, and rather free from Baseness, than ambitious of Vain-glory;

glory; by all these Qualities they supposed he would be obedient to the Resolves of his Masters. But the *Independents*, that were better informed of his ductile Spirit, and how easily he might be imposed upon by a *Species* of Religion, got the great Patron of all the wildest and most unreasonable Sectaries, *Oliver Cromwell*, at first to be admitted into his Counsels, and afterwards to be the Director of all his actions, under the title of Lieutenant General. For although he likewise by the Self-denying Ordinance was made incapable of any Office in the Army, being a Member of the Parliament; yet those Troops of *Fanaticks* whom he had amassed, and formerly led under the Command of the Lord *Grey of Wark*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, (both which he had cast off) were instructed to refuse the Conduct of any one but him. He was therefore permitted by the Parliament, as the General desired, for a time to continue in the Army; but he never left it till he had changed that, ruined the Parliament, and turned out the General, that thus was the Author of his unlawful Power. For this Man, having a long time been poor and necessitous, the Patrimony that was left him being profusely spent, and nothing remaining but the Instruments of his Crimes, a bloody and fierce nature, a greedy soul full of bold and unjust hopes, yet able to conceal

them with a profession of Modesty, a contempt of Religion and Friendship, yet highly pretending to both, till he had smote under the fifth rib those credulous hearts that trusted him; he was fitted for the most impious enterprises, for vexed by a pressing and tedious poverty, he resolved to endeavour the utmost distance from such a Condition, though by the greatest wickedness, therefore used the Power he had now gotten to overthrow the whole State, and establish himself in an absolute and unsupportable Tyranny, which *is the common issue of assaulting a Just and Lawful Prince with Arms.*

With these Tragedies and Changes was the Winter spent at *London*, while the *King* at *Oxford* waits for the Issue of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which, as all other Consultations for Peace, was vain and fruitless. For the Faction would always obstruct those endeavours by their proper Methods. If the Condition of their affairs were prosperous, then would they make their Demands like Impositions on conquered Slaves, detesting to supplicate that the acquisitions of their Swords and Blood should be confirmed by a worsted Enemy. In a more humble fortune they would deprecate their drooping Party, *not then to think of a Reconciliation which their unprosperous Arms must necessarily render harder than*

than their hopes; and that it was not for the Honour of a Parliament to seem to yield to any thing by fear or compulsion. Besides these devices, many fictitious Letters were composed, false Rumours divulged, and witnesses suborned, to make men suspect that many dangerous Plots and portentous Designs were disguised in these Overtures of Accord. Therefore the Commissioners of Parliament were instructed to offer no Expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearken to such as were tendered to them in the Name of the *King*. His Majesty seeing and bewailing his Condition, that He must still have to do with those that were Enemies to Peace, prepares Himself for the War at the approaching Spring: and although this Winter was infamous with many losses, either through the neglects or perfidiousness of some Officers; yet before the season for taking the field was come, His Counsels and Diligence had repaired those damages.

[*Anno 1645.*] In April He sends the Prince to perfect the Western Association, and raise such Forces as the necessities of the Crown, which was His Inheritance, did require: with Him is sent, as Moderator of His Youth, and prime Counsellour, Sir *Edward Hyde*, now Lord High Chancellour of England, whose Faithfulness had endeared him to His Majesty,

who also judged his Abilities equal to the Charge; in which He continued with the same Faith, through all the Difficulties and Persecutions of his Master, till it pleased God to bring the *Prince* back to the Throne of His Fathers, and him to the Chief Ministry of State. After their departure the *King* draws out His Army to relieve His Northern Counties and Garrisons. But being on His march, and having stormed and taken *Leicester* in His way, He was called back to secure *Oxford*, which the Parliament Army threatened with a Siege. But *Fairfax* having gotten a Letter of the Lord *Goring's* (whom a Parliament Spy had cajoled to trust him with the delivery of it) to His Majesty, wherein he had desired Him *to forbear engaging with the Enemy, till he could be joyned with Him*; he leaves *Oxford*, and made directly towards the *King* that was now come back as far as *Darentrey*, with a purpose to fight Him before that addition of strength, and at a place near *Naseby* in *Northampton-shire* both Armies met on Saturday, *June 14*. *Cromwell* having then also brought some fresh Horse to *Fairfax*; whose absence from the Army at that time the *King* was assured by some (who intended to betray Him) should be effected. Nevertheless, the *King* would not decline the Battle, and had the better at first, but His vanquishing Horse following the chase of their Enemies

Enemies too far (a fatal error that had been twice before committed) left the Foot open to the other wing, who pressing hotly upon them, put them to an open rout, and so became Masters of His Canon, Camp, and Carriage, and among these, of His Majesties Cabinet, in which they found many of His Letters, most of them written to the *Queen*: which, not contented with their Victory over His Forces, they Print, as a Trophée over His Fame, that by proposing His secret Thoughts, designed only for the breast of His Wife, to the debauched multitude, and they looking on them through the Prejudices which the Slanders of the Faction had already formed in their minds, the Popular hatred might be increased. But the publication of them found a contrary effect, every one that was not barbarous abhorred that Inhumanity among Christians, which Generous Heathens scorned to be guilty of, and the Letters did discover, that the *King* was not as He was hitherto characterized; but that He had all the Abilities and Affections, as well as all the Rights, that were fit for Majesty: and (which is not usual) He grew greater in Honour by this Defeat, though He never after recovered any considerable power.

For the Fate of this Battel had an inauspicious influence upon all His remaining Forces,
and

and every day His losses were repeated. But though Fortune had left the *King*, yet had not His Valour; therefore gathering up the scattered remains of His broken Army, He marches up and down to encourage those whose Faith changed not with His Condition. At last attempting to relieve *Chester*, though He was beset behind and before, and His Horse wearied in such tedious and restless Marches, yet at first He beat *Poyntz* off that followed; but being charged by Fresh Soldiers from the Leaguer, and a greater Number, He was forced to retreat, and leave some of His gallant Followers dead upon the place. After this He draws towards the North-East, and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Horse that were left to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyn with *Montrose*, who with an inconsiderable company of men had got Victories there so prodigious that they looked like Miracles. But this Lord was surpris'd before he could get out of *Yorkshire*; for His Horse having taken 700 of the Enemies Foot, were so wanton with their Success, that they were easily mastered by another Party, and he himself was compelled to fly into *Ireland*. These several Overthrows brought another mischief along with it; for the *King's* Commanders and Officers broke their own *Peace and Agreement*, which is the only Comfort and Relief of the Oppressed, and
which

which makes them considerable, though they are despoiled of arms, by imputing (as it useth to be in unhappy counsels) the criminous part of their misfortunes to one another. But many gallant Persons, whom Loyalty and Religion had drawn to His Service, endured the utmost hazards before they delivered the Holds He had committed to their trust; and by that means employing the Enemies Arms, gave the King time, who was at last returned to Oxford, to provide for His Safety.

Hither every day sad Messages of Ruines from every part of the Nation came, which though they seemed like the falling pieces of the dissolved world, yet they found His Spirit erect and undaunted. For He was equal in all the Offices of His Life, tenacious of Truth and Equity, and not moveable from them by Fears, a Contemner of worldly Glory, and desirous of Empire for no other reason, but because He saw these Kingdoms must be ruined, when He relinquished the care of them. But that which most troubled Him were the Importunities of His own disconsolate Party to seek for Conditions of Peace, which He saw was in vain to expect would be such as were fit to accept; for His former experience assured Him, that these men would follow the Counsels of their Fortune, and be more Insolent now than ever. And for Himself,

self, He was resolved not to sacrifice His Conscience to Safety, nor his Honour to Life. This He often told those that thus pressed Him, and did profess in His Letter to Prince *Rupert*, (who likewise moved Him to the same,) that *He would yield to no more now than what He had offered at Uxbridge*, though He confessed it were as great a *Miracle His Enemies should hearken to so much Reason, as that He should be restored within a Month to the same Condition He was in immediately before the Battel at Naseby.*

But yet to satisfy every One how tender He was of the Common Safety, He sent several Messages to the Parliament for a Treaty, and offers to come Himself to *London*, if He may have security for Himself and Attendants. All which were either not regarded, or answered with Reproaches. And because the people began to murmur at so great an earnestness of the Faction to continue the Wounds of the Nation open and bleeding, (since there were many Forts yet held out for the *King* by Gallant Persons, besides the Lord *Hopton* had an Army yet unbroken, and *Ormond* and *Montross* had considerable Interests in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; all which might be perswaded in a Treaty to part with those Arms which could not be taken from them without much blood;) and it was the common

common belief that these men sought for Victory, not Peace and Liberty, which was now tendred: therefore to raise suspicions in the Vulgar, it is suggested that the Cavaliers who came to Compound would take the advantage of the *King's* Presence, if He were permitted to be there, and kindle a new flame and War in the City. And that it might be thought they had real grounds for these fears, the Disarmed Compounders were commanded to depart above twenty miles from *London*; and to injealous the people more, all the transactions of the *King* in the *Irish* Pacification were published, and amplified with the malicious Slanders and Comments of the implacable and conscious Demagogues, that so the terrors of the Vulgar being augmented, they might be frightened into a longer patience.

The *King* finding these men irreconcilable to Peace, and that they had declared against His Coming, though without a Caution, tries the Leaders of the *English* Army; but they proved no less pertinacious, and were now approaching to besiege *Oxford*. Providence not leaving any more Choice, but only shewing Him a way for a present Escape, He goes in a *Disguise* (*which when Necessity cloathes Royal Persons with, seems like an Ominous Cloud before the Setting of the Sun,*)

Sun,) to the *Scotish* Camp that was now before *Newark*, where the Ambassadour of the King of *France*, who was then in the League, had before covenanted for His Majesty's Safety and Protection; and the *Scotish* Officers had engaged to secure both Him and as many of His Party as should seek for Shelter with them, and to stand to Him with their Lives and Fortunes.

[Anno 1646.] The King being come thither May 4. made a great alteration in affairs; *Newark* was surrendred by the King's Command, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* having gallantly defended *Oxford* till the Besiegers offered honourable Conditions, delivered up that also. But the greatest Change of Counsels were at *London*, where when it was related, among whom the King had sought a Sanctuary, various and different Discourses were raised. "Some wondred that His Majesty had sought a Refuge there where the "Storm began, and how He could apprehend to find Relief from those that were "not only the Authors of His Troubles, but "now the great Advancers of His Overthrow: And they conceived *no Promises or Oaths can be a sufficient Caution from those "People that have been often Perfidious.* Others "judged that in those necessities wherein the "King was concluded, it was as dangerous
"not

“ not to trust as to be deceived ; no Counsel
“ could be better, than to try whether a
“ Confidence in them would make them faith-
“ ful, and whether they would then be honest,
“ when they had the Critical Opportunity to
“ testify to the world, that they intended
“ not what they did, but what they said ;
“ *That they fought not against Him, but for*
“ *Him* But a last sort bewailed both the
“ greatness of the *King's* Dangers, that should
“ make Him seek for Safety in a tempestuous
“ Sea and false bottom ; as also the debauches
“ ries of the English *Genius*, which was now
“ so corrupted, that their Prince was driven
“ to seek an *Asylum* from their injuries among
“ a people that were infamous and polluted
“ with the Blood of many Kings.

While others discoursed thus of the *King's* journey, the Parliament heated by the *Independents* fiercely declared against the *Scots*, who were removing the *King* to *Newcastle*, and used several methods to make them odious and drive them home. For they kept back their Pay, that they might exact Free-Quarter from the Country ; then they did extenuate their Services, derogate from their famed Valour, upbraid them as Mercenaries, threaten to force them out by the Sword. All which while the English *Presbyterians*, though they wish'd well to their Brethren,
yet

yet lest they should seem to indulge the Insolencies of a strange Nation, did not dare to plead in their defence. But the Scots themselves for a time did justify their Reception and Preservation of His Majesty by the *Laws of Nature, Nations, and Hospitality, which forbid the delivery and betraying of those that have fled to any for Succour.* The Democratick Faction urged that it *was not lawful for the Scots, their Hirelings, and in their Dominion, to receive the King into their Camp without the leave of their Masters, and keep Him without their Consent.* These Debates were used to raise the King's price. Which when the Scots were almost assured of, to make their ware more valuable, they solicited the King, in hopes of their Defence, to command *Montross* to depart from his noble Undertakings in Scotland, where he had almost recovered the Overthrow *Roxbrough* and *Traquair* had betrayed him unto, and was become formidable again; as also the Loyal Marquess of *Ormond* to desist from his gallant Oppositions both of the *Irish* Rebels, and *English* Forces. Which when the King had done, being not willing those Gallant Persons should longer Hazard their brave Lives, and after both these Excellent Leaders had more in anger than fear parted with their unhappy Arms: that they might have a colour of betraying Him, whom the General Assembly

bly of *Scotland* (which useth to hatch all the Seditions to the heat and strength of a seeming Authority) had forbid to be brought into *His Native and Ancient Kingdom* (as He affectionately call'd it) they tender Him the Covenant; pretending without that Chain upon Him, they did not dare to lead Him into *Scotland*. This His Majesty refused nor, if they would first loose those Scruples of Church-Government which lay upon His Conscience: Therefore to untie those Knots, Master *Henderson*, that was then the Oracle of the Kirk, and the great Apostle of the Solemn Covenant, was employed to converse with Him. But the Greatness of the *King's* Parts, and the Goodness of His Cause made all his attempts void (for the Papers being published, every one yielded the Victory to His Majesty) and unfortunate; for he returned home, and not long after died, as some reported, of a Grief contracted from the sense of his Injuries to a Prince whom he had found so Excellent.

While these things were acting at *Newcastle*, the bargain was stroke at *London*, and for 200000*l*. His Majesty, stripp'd of those Arms He had when He came among them, was delivered up, as it were, to be scourged and crucified to some Commissioners from the Parliament: But to Honest their Perfidiousness,
L they

they add this Caution, *That there should be no attempt made upon the King's Person, but being entertained at one of His own Palaces, He should there be treated with upon Propositions from both Nations, which should speedily be sent to Him.* But the Parliament never thought of sending any Propositions till He came under the Power of the Army, who had malicious Designs upon His Person. The Commissioners receiving Him, convey Him to His own House at *Holmeby*. This was a very curious and stately Building, yet was not therefore chosen because it might be a Majestick Prison; but because it was within Ken of *Naseby*, which was infamous with His Overthrow, that so the Neighbourhood to it might more afflict His grieved Spirit. To this unpleasingness of the Place they added other discomforts, by making the restraint so strict that they suffered none to come near Him, that by owning His Cause were assured of their Welcome; yea, even His Chaplain (which most troubled Him) were debarred from their Ministry. But God supplied this Want by more plentiful Assistances of His Holy Spirit, and made Him, like the Ancient Patriarchs, both a *King* and a *Priest* (at least for Himself:) and here He sacrificed Praises even to that God that hid himself, and composed those most Divine Meditations and Soliloquies that are in His Book, spending that
time

time in Converse with Heaven, which He was not suffered to employ with Men in whom He delighted.

While the *King's* Soul was thus winged above the walls of His Prison and the Fortune of His Enemies, they that had put an end to the War, yet could not find the way to Peace; for their Souls were unequal to the Victory, and could not temper their Success, the two Sects falling to dissension, and turning all their Arts and Arms one against another. The *Presbyterians* had the richer and more splendid followers, but the *Independents* the most fierce, subtle, and most strongly principled to Confusion; the first was Powerful in the Parliament, but the latter in the Army. After they had a long time practised on one another the very same Methods they had acted against the *King*, and such as favoured Him in the Parliament (of which there were always some Number among them) the *Independents* still gained upon their Opposites, making the *Presbyterians* odious, by Libels composed to render their Government Ridiculous and Tyrannical, by putting them upon all the most envious Employments, as Reforming the Universities, and Sequestering Ministers that refused to take the *Covenant*. Not contented thus to deal with their elder Brethren, by spoiling them of their Honour, they proceed-

ed to strip them of the reliques of their Armed Power, surprising them in Parliament with a Vote to disband all the Souldiers that were not in *Fairfax's* Army: then the General turns out those Commanders of Garrisons that were any way inclined to them. Besides this, they either corrupted with Gifts or frightened some of the most busie, yet obnoxious, *Presbyterians* either wholly to come over to them, or be their Instruments in disturbing and revealing the Counsels of that Party; which was done under the Scheme of Moderation, and reconciling the Godly one to another.

[*Anno 1647.*] The *Presbyterians* at last awakened with the daily wounds of their Power, and the dishonour of their Party, began now to be more afraid of their Stipendiaries than they were of their Sovereign; for they found that they lost all that by the Victory which they fought by the War: therefore to break the confidence of the *Independents*, and make themselves free, they Vote in the Parliament, where they had most Voices, *That to ease the Commonwealth of the Charges in maintaining the Army, 12000 of the Souldiers should be sent over to Ireland, and all the rest to be disbanded, except 6000 Horse, 2000 Dragoons, and 6000 Foot, who should be disposed in different and distant places in the Nation,*

tion, to prevent any *Rising*. The Commanders and *Independents* soon discovered the Artifice, that it was not to ease the Nation, but weaken them; therefore they employ the Inferiour Officers (being persons that by dissimulation and impudence having accustomed themselves to much speaking, did at last imagine their Vices were Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and so were fit to disquiet the minds of men,) to possess the common Souldiers *with a fear of Disbanding without their Arrears, or else to be sent into that unquiet Island to perish with hunger and cold, and the surprises of a treacherous Enemy*. This presently set the Army to Mutiny, which while it was in the Beginnings, the Commanders make semblance of Indignation at it, seem very busie to compose it; and Cromwell, to make the Parliament secure, calls God to witness, that *he was assured the Army would at their first Command cast their Arms at their Feet*; and again solemnly swears, that *he had rather himself with his whole Family should be consumed than that the Army should break out into Sedition*. Yet in the mean time he and his Creatures in the Army administer new fuel to the flames of it; and when they had raised their Fury to such heat that it was at last concocted to a perfect defection from all obedience to the Parliament, they lay aside their disguises, and post from London to the Head Quarters, where the Sy-

nagogue of Agitators was seated, and to whom was committed the management of this Conspiracy. This Conventicle was made up of two of the most unquiet and factious in every Regiment of Foot, and each Troop of Horse: their business was to consult the Interests of the whole Army, and when they had moulded their Pretences and Arts to their grand Design, to instruct the ruder part of it in their Clamours and Injuries, and to corrupt all the Garrisons by Emissaries to the same enterprises. At last they extended their Cares to the whole *British* Empire, and dictate what their pleasures are concerning *England* and *Ireland*. Which was in both Kingdoms *to establish the Power and Liberty of the People*; for they openly professed an intent for Democracie. And because about an hundred Officers in the Army would not be forward in the Sedition, they were by this Committee of Adjutators, and the secret intimations of the Commanders, cashiered.

Thus the Counsels of both Parties being directed to overthrow their contrary, each thought the Person and Presence of the *King* would be no vain advantage to their Designs, for they would Honest their actions with a care of Him: therefore the *Presbyterians* had it in Consultation, to Order Col. *Greves*, who had the Command of the Guard about the
King

King at Holmeby, to remove His Majesty to London ; the Intelligence of which coming to the Army by the treachery of a certain Lord, they immediately send a Body of Horse to prevent them, and to force Him into their own Quarters. Thus was that Religious Prince made once more the mock of Fortune, and the sport of the Factions, and was drawn from His peaceful Contemplations, and Prospect of Heaven, to behold and converse with men set on Fire of Hell. These, to tempt Him to a Confidence in their integrity, (that they might the more easily to His disgrace ruine Him, and murder Him by His own Concessions, if He would be deluded by them) highly pretend to a Compassionate Sense of His Sufferings, and complain of the Parliaments Barbarous Imprisoning Him in His own Palaces, wondering they had no more Reverence for Majesty ; and to beget a belief of this, they profess (which they would have to be conceived with them was more sacred than any Oaths) that they will never part with their Arms till they have made His way to His Throne, and rendred the Condition of His Party more tolerable. Besides these Promises and Compassions, they permit Him the Ministry of His Chaplains in the Worship of God, (which, it is said, He took with so great a Joy, that He almost believed Himself free and safe, it being His most heavy burthen while He was the

Parliaments Captive) the Commerce of Letters with the *Queen*, the Visits of His own Party, and the Service of His Courtiers; some of whom they also admitted to their Council of War, mould Propositions which they will urge in His behalf, and alter them to the *King's* Gust and at His Advice. In their publick Remonstrances against the Covetousness, Ambition, Injustice, Cruelty and Selfmindedness of the Parliament, they do sometimes obliquely, sometimes plainly, profess, that *the King, Queen, and the Royal Family must be restored to all their Rights, or else no hope of a solid Peace*; but then they would intermix such Conditions as argued they sought Reserves for a perfidious escape. For *Cromwell* did among his Confidants boast of his fine Arts, and that by these Indulgences was intended nothing but His Destruction.

By all these Impostures they prevailed nothing upon the Hopes or Fears of the *King*; nor did He commit any thing unworthy His former Fortune, and the Greatness of His Integrity and Wisdom, or which any of the Disagreeing Factions could use to His reproach. But they found another kind of Success upon the Parliament, for they sacrificed to the Commands of their Stipendiaries eleven Members of the House of Commons, and seven of the Peers, causing them to forbear sitting
among

among them, because they had been accused by the Army in a very frivolous Charge.

“ All men wondering at the inequality of
 “ those mens Spirits, who had so furiously re-
 “ jected the Articles of their lawful Sove-
 “ reign against five or six of their Body, and
 “ yet did now so tamely yield to the slight
 “ Cavils and dislike of their Mercenaries a-
 “ bove thrice that Number. They therefore
 “ concluded, that neither *Religion, Justice, or*
 “ *the Love of Liberty, which are always uni-*
 “ *form, but unworthy Interests and corrupt*
 “ *Souls, which vary with fears and hopes,* had
 “ been the Principles and first Movers of their
 “ attempts. Besides this, they were so prone
 to Slavery, that they had gone on to Vote all
 the lusts of the Army, had not a Tumult
 (their Arts being now turned upon their own
 heads,) from London stopp'd them in their
 violent speed, and kept the Speaker in his
 Chair till they had voted more generously,
that it was neither for their Honour nor Interest
to satisfy the demands of the Souldiers; and
that the King should come to London to treat.

These contrary desires of the divided Faction, which had joyntly oppressed their Sovereign, shewed, that *Ill men will more easily conspire together in War, than consent in Peace;* and that *Combinations in Crimes will conclude in Jealousies, each Party thinking the advantages*

tages of the other too great ; and that Power is never thought faithfull which is accounted excessive. Therefore both prepare for War. With the 140 Members that sate in Parliament were joyned the City, and the cashiered Souldiers and Officers that had served in their pay. With the Army were the Speakers of both Houses ; who had fled to them with about fifty of their Members that projected the Change of Government, being either for an Oligarchy or Democracie, yet left some of the same judgment behind, to betray and disturb the Counsels at *London*. To these did adhere the Neighbouring Counties, who were cajoled by the splendid Promises of the Army, of *Restoring the King*, (which they much boasted) *Dissolving the Parliament*, and *Establishing Peace and Government* : and they more wilingly credited these, because they had conceived an hatred of the Parliament and City both for beginning the War, and now obstructing Peace. The Army intitle their attempts for *King and People* : Their Adversaries, for *bringing the King to His Parliament*. The Commanders were greedy of that War which promised an easie Victory, and made the poor Souldiers hope for the Plunder of the City.

For the advantage was clear on the Army's side, which consisted of veterane Souldiers,
united

united among themselves by a long Converse, and known Commanders: but the force of the other was made up of a tumultuary Multitude, gathered under new Leaders, and so had no mutual confidence; their meetings were full of doubts and fears, none could determine in private, nor in publick Consult, because they dared not trust one another; and it was observed that those who were most treacherous talk'd most boldly against the Enemy. Therefore in the very beginnings the Parliament and City desert their Enterprize, Treat with, and open their Gates to the Army, who march in Triumph through *London*, bringing the Speakers and their Fellow-Travellers to their Chairs, seize upon the *Tower*, dismantle the Fortifications, pull down all the Chains and Posts of the City, send the Lord Mayor and the Chief Citizens to the *Tower*, and reduce all the Power of the Nation in Obedience to the Commanders. For *Fairfax* is made General of all the Forces both in *England* and *Ireland*, and *Rainsbrough*, a Leveller, and a violent Head of the Democraticks, High Admiral. The impeached *Presbyterians* fled beyond Sea, others of that Sect drooping complied with the Fortune of the Conquerours; and that which greived good Men most, was, a *Publick Thanksgiving* (which is not to be observed but for the happy endeavours of a Nation in their vertuous and glorious

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glorious undertakings for Liberty and Safety, but now was prophaned for our Slavery and Mi-
 sery) to God was appointed for the Army,
 and they were entertained now at a Feast,
 whom before the City would have forced
 from their Walls.

While these things were in Motion, the
King consults Heaven for Direction, and his
 Party modestly abstain from either side,
 thought both to be abhorred, and knew that
 Party would be the worst which should over-
 come. The Army having now the greatest
 strengths of the Nation, the Parliament and
 City at their obedience, make no mention of
 their former promises to the *King*; only the
 Adjutators were fierce for breaking that Par-
 liament, and calling another, as they call'd it,
more equal Representative. But both their Sy-
 nagogue and the Council of War, being now
 delivered from fear of the *Presbyterians*, be-
 gan to contrive the destruction both of the
King and Monarchy. As for the *King*, whom
 they had now brought to *Hampton-Court*,
 some that had before contrived His Death,
 and to murder Him while He was in the *Scotch*
Camp, (so at once to satisfy their own Re-
 venge, and Load their Enemies with the In-
 famy of the Murder,) yet could not then
 perform it, were now fierce for a speedy
 and secret Assassination by Pistol or Poison.

Others

Others would have Him tryed and condemned by their Council of War. But the Chiefs thought fit to proceed more artificially in their Crime, and when they should get more Authority, destroy Him by a Parliamentary way of Justice. To bring this about, they must proceed to make Him more odious, that the People might be patient while they kill Him, and undo them. To proceed therefore to their Impiety, *Cromwell* and his Creatures stickle fiercely in the House of Commons, and cause the Parliament to send, not Conditions of Peace to be treated on, but Propositions like Commands that admitted no dispute: which if the *King* had yielded unto, He had despoiled Himself of Majesty, and been thought guilty of so much want of Spirit as would conclude an unsuitness for Empire; besides, such a voluntary Diminution would have been equally unsafe, as unglorious: And if He did not, then He was to be esteemed the only Obstacle of the Universal Peace. And lest the *King* should put them to more tedious Arts by signing them, they themselves to divert Him privately procure more soft Articles, and professed to be sorry the *Presbyterian* Sowreness and Rigour did yet leaven the House, which made these Propositions so unpleasant.

The *King* could not but perceive the practices

ctices of the Army, yet being resolved that no Dangers whatsoever should make Him satisfie those unreasonable Demands of the Parliament, which granted would have been the heaviest oppression on His Subjects, and the greatest injury to His Posterity He could possibly be guilty of; For *to good Princes the Safety of their People, and their own Memory, which is built upon the Happiness of Posterity through their Counsels, are more pretious than Life and Power*; and although Providence, and the Malice of His Enemies had obstructed His way to Glory by Victories and Success, yet He would trace it in the unenvied and unquestionable paths of Constancy and Justice: Therefore to make His denial of them advantageous to Himself, by a seeming confidence in the Army's profers, thereby to oblige, if it were possible, those that had no sense either of Faith or Honour, or at least, to injealous those two Rivals for His Power, and commit them, the King absolutely rejects the Parliaments Propositions, and requires the *Demands of the Army as more equal, and fit for a Personal Treaty, and that the Army also should nominate Commissioners*. Cromwell and His Complices seemed to be joyful for this Answer of His Majesty, which had preferred them before their Competitors to the Honour of Justice and Moderation in the Eyes of the People; but yet secretly did they exasperate

exasperate the minds of the more short-sighted Commons against the *King* for this Affront. And to the *King* they profess a shame and trouble upon their Spirits (for so they loved to speak) that they could not now perform their Promises: sometimes they excused themselves by a Reverence to the Parliament, at other times by the fierceness of the Adjutors; and when by these excuses they had coloured their delays to some length, they began to interpret their sayings otherwise than the *King* apprehended them, to forget what they had assured Him of, and at last openly to refuse any performance. To all these Perfidies they add other Frauds, to beget a fear in Him of the Adjutors and the Levellers, who they informed Him meditated His Murder, professed they could not for the present moderate their bloody and impetuous Consultations, but when they should recover the lost Discipline of their Army, then they might easily and speedily satisfy their engagements to Him. To give credit to their words, the Fury of the Adjutors was blown to a more conspicuous Flame, their Papers were published for a change of Government, call'd *The Case of the Army*, and, *The Agreement of the People*; the animations of *Peters*, and another of the same Diabolical spirit, saying, *His Majesty was but a dead Dog*, were divulged, and all were communicated to some Attendants

tendants about the *King*, with an Advice from the Chiefs of the Army to escape for His Life: for they were unwilling He should be killed while they helplessly look'd on.

The fury and threatnings of men of such destructive and bloody Principles, who accounted *all things lawful that they could do*, that *Providence administering Opportunity did invite and license their impieties*, and who imputed all their lusts, that had no colour from Justice, to the Perswasions of the Holy Spirit, were not to be despised; nor was the *King* to abandon His Life, if He could without sin preserve it to a longer waiting upon God. Therefore with three of His most trusted Attendants, in the dark, tempestuous and ominous night of *Novem. 11.* He leaves *Hampton-Court*, some say, uncertain where to seek safety; others, that He intended to take Ship, but being disappointed in His Expectation, He was at last fatally led into the Power, and, when He could not escape, committed Himself to the Loyalty and Honour of *Col. Hammond*, (a Confident of *Cromwell's*, who had been but a little before made Governour of the *Isle of Wight* for this very purpose,) and was by him conveyed to *Carisbrook Castle* the very Pit His Enemies had designed for Him. For it was discoursed in the Army above a fortnight before, that the *King* e're long would

wonted Wisdom and Greatnesses of Mind, presently returns them an Answer, to shew the Injustice of having Him grant the chief things before the Treaty, which should be the Subject of it, and to give them such an Arbitrary Power, to the ruine of all the People. This Answer He delivered sealed to their Messengers, who desired that they might hear it read, and that they might be dealt with as Commissioners, not as bare Carriers (a greater trust than which their Masters had not committed unto them) and promise upon their Honour that it should not be any prejudice to Him. But His Majesty had no sooner read it, than they finding it not to the Gust of those that sent them, notwithstanding the Faith they had given, cause their Just Sovereign to be kept close Prisoner, force away His Chaplains, Dr. *Shelden*, now Lord Bishop of *London*, and Dr. *Hammond*, both which He highly valued for their Integrity, Wisdom, Piety and Learning and His other Servants, even those whom the Parliament had placed formerly about Him, and in whom His Goodness had wrought both an Affection and Admiration of Him, and permit none about Him but such as they hoped would be a Watch upon Him, and whose barbarous Souls might trample on His Fortune. Besides they set strict Guards at His Doors and Windows, lest any Letters

ters might come to Him, or be sent from Him.

The like reception His Letter found with the Parliament. For *Cromwell* and His Officers were resolved to go on with their Design, and having so long used the *Adjutors*, as served to frighten the *King* into the Toils they had set, they soon quiet them, (which was not difficult, being a Company of hot-headed fellows, that could only talk, not form a Counsel or a Party, to endure a Storm,) by executing some of their most pertinacious Leaders; and being free of that care, applied their practices wholly to the Destruction of His Majesty. To this purpose they mould the Four Votes for *No Addresses to the King*; but before they bring them into Publick, they send into their several Counties about forty or fifty of the principal Members, who they thought would oppose them, to raise Money for the Souldiers. Nevertheless the first of those Votes was contested against so strongly, that the Debates lasted from ten of the Clock in the Morning till seven in the Evening; and though they thus wearied the more Honest Party, yet could it not pass till the Conspirators had engaged that no worse thing should be done to the *King*. The remaining Votes were dispatched in half an hours time, when those of the more sober

Principles were gone forth to refresh themselves, and the Conspirators still kept their Seats. The House of Peers were not so hasty in them as the Commons had been, and their Debates vexed the Conspirators with Delays till those who were sent by the Army to thank the Lower House for their Consent to these Desires of the Souldiers, did also threaten the Upper for their long Deliberations: some new Terrors were also added, for they quartered two of their Regiments at *White-Hall*, under colour of guarding the Parliament, but in truth to work upon the Lords; which had its effect, for many that had the most Honourable thoughts in this business, forsook the Parliament, and then three or four (which often was the fullest Number about those times in that House,) joyn with the Commons in their Votes for no Addresses.

This prodigious Perfidiousness in Parliament and Army, both which had so frequently declared and engaged themselves by Oaths and Promises to preserve the *King* in His Just Rights, fill'd all men with amazement and indignation, to see how little they valued their Faith who pretended so high to Religion; therefore each of them were put to satisfy the Common Fame. *Cromwell* to some would have cover'd this Impiety with another, that as *He was praying for a blessing from God on*
his

his undertakings, to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of Prayer, and that God had rejected Him from being King. To others he did impudently assert, That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and frauds. The Conspirators in the Parliament strove to honest their Proceedings by a Declaration, and assign in it for Causes of their Perjuries, all the Calumnies that had been raised against the King by His most professed Enemies, or from those uncertain Rumours which themselves had invented, adding and repeating others which had even in the Parliament House been condemned as Forgeries, (yet now were used as necessary Veils for a more execrable Falshood.) Which infamous Libel they cause to be sent to all the Parishes of the Kingdom, to be divulged, supposing that none did dare to refute their black and most malicious Slanders, or that none could publicly do it, because they set strict Watches upon all the Printing-Presses. They likewise Commanded the Curates to read it in their several Churches, and commend it to the People. And that these might the more readily observe their Orders, they at the same time strictly enjoin the payment of Tithes, and Vote that the Dean and Chapter's Lands (which they

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had

had designed for profane Uses, and never intended they should be for the Emolument of Church-men) should be set apart for Augmentations for their Preachers, pretending a fervent zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, when they did most dishonour it. By their Agents, and the *Anabaptists*, with other Hereticks and Schismatics, they sollicit the unacquainted Rabble to sign to Gratulatory Addresses to approve what they had already done, and petition for a speedy progress in the Ruine of His Majesty.

But all these their cursed Projects failed, for several Answers to their Defamations were published, One writ by the *King* Himself, another by * *Sir Edward Hyde*, and a third by * *Dr. Bates* : all which proved the Monstrous Falshoods of their Paper, and that the Faction were guilty of what they imputed to the *King* ; and this with such evidence, that none of their most mercenary Writers, or the most foul-mouthed Conspirators, did dare or hope with Success to reply unto. The Curates coldly, if at all, observed their Orders, and there came so few Petitions, and those signed by such contemptible and lewd Persons, as they rather loaded the Faction with more hatred, than gave them any credit. While generally in every place none of the People could

could contain their fury against these Impostors, but publickly cursed them and their Infamous Adherents.

For their Miseries made them sensible of the want of that *Prince* whose gentle and just Rule had brought them to such an inebriating Prosperity, that they had forgot the Minister of their Happiness. But now they found Government when it was out of His hand, like *Moses's* Rod cast on the ground, transformed to a Serpent; and that those who pretended to free them from Tyranny had deluded them into the most insufferable Slavery: wherein they were either totally despoiled of all things that render our Being comfortable, or they were not secure in the use of them. Religion, the Ornament of the present, and the Pledge of a future Life, was so dishonoured by Schisms and Heresies (fomented to weaken the People by Divisions, to a tameness under their Oppressors) by Fasts for the most impious Designs, and Thanksgivings for prosperous Crimes; that some men concluded it to be nothing else but the Invention of Tyrants, and the Disguise of Villains, and therefore did forsake it, and turn Atheists. Others that did still find the Inward Consolations of it, yet feared openly to profess it, lest they should be taken for those that pretended a Love to God, that they

M 4

might

might more securely destroy men. Liberty also was now but an empty name : for all the Common Prisons were too narrow to receive even those that did not dare to break the Laws ; so that the Houses of Noble-men were converted to Gaols, for those that were unfortunate in honest enterprizes ; where they were to languish with want and sickness, and not be called to know their Offence or their Accusers, because they had not guilt enough for a publick Condemnation. Some were put a Ship-board in the midst of Summer, there to contract Diseases : Others were sold Slaves to foreign Plantations, Many to escape such nasty Confinements, or an ignominious Torture, fled from their Native Soil either to the Neighbouring Countries, where they were the Evidences of the Infamy and Barbarousness of our Nation ; or seeking for Shelter in the Isles and Desarts of *America*, polluted those Rocks and Seas with *English* Blood.

Propriety was no longer hedged up by Law ; but whom the Violence of the Souldier did not impoverish, the frauds of *Committee-men* would, from whose Rapines none were secure that had not been as criminal as themselves, and few safe that did not seek their favour, and bow down to their Greatness: These men taking advantage of the common evils,

evils, to satisfy either their private revenge, or lusts: for their Proceedings were not regulated by the known Laws; but the secret Instructions of their Masters in Parliament and Army, or their own Pleasures, were the Rules of administering Justice. An honest Fame likewise was a Mark for Ruine: for if any by just Arts had got the Esteem of the People and the Affections of His Neighbourhood, and did not comply with their Interest, first he was vexed with Slanders and Reproaches; and afterwards with Sequestration; especially if he were a Minister: and it was their common Principle, that *an Honest Cavalier was the worst Enemy, and a Cavalier Saint did the most hurt*; so that both their Vices and Vertues were equally hated. Common Converse was dangerous; for they had Informers in every place, and Spies almost in every Family of Note: Servants were corrupted to accuse their Masters, and the Differences in Religion did injealous and arm the nearest Relations one against another: Men out of a mutual distrust would hasten from Company, to consult in private their peculiar Safety, for they knew their Words were observed, and their Secrets sought after. Few Families but had by the Civil War some loss to bewail; some mourned over their disagreeing Members in different Camps, and had cause to fear which side soever prospered

spered they must be miserable in some part.

These and many more Miseries were more highly embittered by the uncertainty of a Remedy : For the Parliament, that had the name of Government, were guilty of all these Reproaches of a Community, being Slaves to those whose interest it was to keep us thus miserable ; and if at any time they were free from the yoke of the Army, the two Sects kept them so divided, each Party labouring by Votes and Counsels to circumvent the other, that they could not mind the Universal Benefit. Besides the Power they exercised was too much to be well used, for they engrossed the Legislative Authority, and the Exercise of Jurisdiction. So that they would make Laws according to their Interest, and execute them according to their Lust; this day's Vote should contradict the former day's Order, and to morow we must violate what to day we solemnly swore to observe: so that men knew not what to obey, nor where to rest. Thus all hopes of Liberty and Peace were lost in the Confinement of the *King*, who only was found able and willing to determine our Miseries. For His Principles were Uniform, and His Endeavours for a Settlement constant; besides His Adversities had illustrated, if not calcined, His Endowments. For now when He had no Friends,
Counsellors,

Counsellors, or Secretaries, His Discourses with Commissioners upon their several Addresses, and His Declarations of His own Injuries, the Nations Slavery, the Injustice of His and their Adversaries, were so excellently and prudently managed, that they undeceived the greatest part, and reconciled many of His bitter Enemies: therefore the whole Nation now panted for a Return to the Obedience of such an inestimable Prince.

These Considerations caused several attempts for His Deliverance, some Private, and others more Publick. The first was managed by those Servants whom the Parliament had placed about Him; for these won by His Goodness, of which they were daily witnesses, twice plotted His Escape, and ventured their Lives for His Liberty, but failed in both designs: and the last being discovered before it could be put into action, One *Rolfe*, a bloody Villain, (that had also endeavoured to poison Him, for which though he was publicly accused, yet was acquitted by that Judge whom the Conspirators had employed to hear that cause) waited to kill Him as He should descend from His Chamber.

[*Anno* 1648.] The more publick was that of the whole Nation: for enraged with their own Oppressions and the Miseries of their
Prince,

Prince, men in most Counties, even of those that had adhered to the Parliament, but now vexed that they had been so basely deluded, draw up Petitions for a *Personal Treaty with the King*; that the *Armies Arrears* being paid they should immediately be disbanded; that *Relief* should be sent into Ireland, and England quite eased of the Contribution, which they could no longer bear. To these Petitions there were such innumerable Subscriptions, that the Officers of the Army, and Parliament were mad to see their Threats of Sequestration, Imprisonment and Death, to make no Impression; and the Promises they likewise made were slighted, because discredited by their former Perjuries. The first Petitioners were the *Essex* men, who came in such Numbers as had not been seen before, as if they would force, not intreat for, what was necessary. After them those of *Surrey*, whom, by the command of the Officers and Parliament-men, the Soldiers assault at the Parliament-Doors, kill some, wound more, and plunder all: and for this brave Exploit upon unarmed Petitioners, they have the Thanks of the Commons, and a Largeſs for their Valour; that so the People might be affrighted from offering Petitions, which before the very same men had declared to be the *Birth-right of every English man*.
 “ While men see and admire the Returns of
 “ the Divine Justice, and the reciprocal mo-
 “ tions

“ tions of the Popular heat, that the very same
 “ Parliament that first stirr’d up this way of
 “ tumultuary Petitions against the *King*, now
 “ complained that the Honour and Safety of
 “ Parliaments was indangered by Petitions.

But all their Tyranny upon the complaining Nation prevailed nothing but to provoke them to a higher Indignation and more frequent Petitions. And when they perceived they dealt with men obstinate to their own Interests, which were not to be gained but by the Publick ruine, they fly from Prayers to Arms, and intitle their just War, *For the Liberty of King and People*. And in several places, as in *Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cornwall, York-shire, Wales*, and at last in *Surry*, multitudes take Arms for this Righteous Cause. The Navy also fall off, and setting *Rainsbrough* their levelling Admiral on Shore, seventeen Ships deliver themselves up to the *Prince of Wales*. The *Scots* likewise by an Order of their own Parliament send into *England* (to recover the Liberty and Majesty of the *King*) an Army under *Hamilton*. But all was in vain, God had decreed other Triumphs for His Majesty, and to translate Him to another Kingdom. For the *English* being but tumultuarily raised, having no train of Artillery or Ammunition considerable, were soon suppress’d by a veterane
 Army

Army provided with all necessaries. The Scots, either through weakness or wickedness of their Commanders, who made so disorderly a march that their Van and Rear were forty miles asunder, were easily worsted by Cromwell, who surpris'd their main Body, and Hamilton was taken Prisoner. Cromwell follows the scattered Parties into Scotland, where they were likewise assaulted by Argyle, a domestick Enemy, and forced to submit those Arms the Parliament had put into their hands to the Faction of that false Earl; who calls another Parliament, from which all were excluded that in the former Voted for the King's Delivery, and all the Orders of that Convention made void. Cromwell had the Publick Thanks, and the private Faith of Argyle to endeavour, as opportunity permitted, the extirpation of Monarchy out of Scotland.

The Navy also deserts the Prince, being corrupted by the Earl of Warwick, who was appointed for this Service; and when he had ingloriously bought off their Faith to their lawful Prince, himself was ignominiously cashiered by the Conspirators. These great disappointments and overthrs of just Enterprises men variously attributed to different Causes. "Some to the Perfidiousness, others to "the Weakness of those that managed them;

“ as also to the Treachery of some *Presbyterians*, who in hatred to the Army first incouraged, and then in Jealousie of the *Royalists* basely deserted them. For the *Rabbies* of the *Kirk* cursed *Hamilton* in the beginning of his Enterprize. Another sort thought them unhappy, because the greatest part of the Undertakers were such that formerly had either fought against the *King*, or else had betrayed Him, and God would not now bless their unexpiated Arms. And some to the Fate of the Kingdom, which God had decreed to give over to numerous and impious Tyrants, because of their unthankfulness and impatience under so Incomparable a *Prince*.

But while these things were managed by the Army that were now at a distance, and *Cromwell's* Terrors were greater in *Scotland* than here, the less guilty Parliament-men seriously considering how impatient the People (who in *London* and other places had gotten innumerable Subscriptions to a Petition for a Personal Treaty) now were of those Injuries that were done to their Sovereign, how hateful themselves grew, because they had betrayed and inflaved their own Privileges, together with the Liberties of the Subject to an insatiable and Phanatick Army, and how an evident Ruine attended even their Conquests

quests of Him whom it was unlawful to assault, did at last (though too late) contrary to the clamours of their Factious and Democra-tick Members, Repeal those Votes which they had formerly made, of *No more Addresses* to the *King*. This being passed in both Houses, they afterwards with a strong Consent Vote a *Treaty* with the *King*, in Honour, Freedom and Safety. The Factious Party in the Parliament found themselves too few and weak to oppose this impetuous tendency of the Two Houses and whole Kingdom to Peace. But yet they endeavoured to frustrate the labours of their more since Members, and to baffle the People's just desires of it, by imposing many unequal Conditions, and obstructive restrictions.

For they procured that the Treaty should be in the *Isle of Wight*, and not at *London*; that it should be by Commissioners, and not immediately with the two Houses, as was Petitioned. The Propositions that were sent to be Treated were the same which had before been offered to the *King* at *Hampton-Court*, and were then rejected by Him, and also condemned by the Army it self as too unjust. The Commissioners were so streightned in Power, that it was not lawful for them to soften any one of the Conditions of Peace, not to alter the Preface, or change the Order of the

the Propositions, nor to debate a Subsequent till the Precedent were agreed on. They could conclude nothing; they were only to propose the Demands, urge Reasons for the Royal Assent, receive the *King's* Answer, and refer all in writing to the Parliament, whose slow Resolves, and the delays of sending were supposed would consume that narrow measure of time which was appointed to debate so many and so different things, for they were limited to forty days. The Commissioners they sent, were Five of the *Lord's House* and Twelve of the *Commoners*, and with them some of their *Presbyterian Ministers*, who were to press importunately for their Church-Government, to elude the *King's* Arguments for Episcopacy, and only to impose, not to dispute, their own.

With all these, upon so many several and different Propositions, some relating to the Law of the Land, others to Reason of State, and some to the practice of the Apostolical Primitive Churches, the *King* was to deal without publick assistance. For though He was permitted the Ministry of some Officers of State, Counsellours and Divines, yet were they but of private advice, and to stand behind the Curtain; He only Himself was to speak in the Debate, and singly to manage matters of Policy with their most exercised

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Statists;

Statists, and the points of Divinity with their best-studied Divines. "The Vulgar, to whom
 "the Arts of these men were not so obvious,
 "were much pleased with the Name of a
 "Treaty, and now hoped to exchange their
 "Servitude under so many importunate Tyrants, for the moderate and easie Government of one Lawful *King*. Others that had
 "a clearer insight, and observed with what
 "difficulties it was burthened, hoped for no
 "benefit from it. Because that if His Majesty should not Consent, as they believed
 "He would not, then He would be the object of the popular impatience: And if He
 "should Consent, He that now was thought
 "to be most injuriously dealt with, would
 "then be conceived not to deserve the Pity
 "even of His Friends; nor could He gain
 "any other thing by His Concessions, than to
 "be ruined with more Dishonour. So that
 "considering both the inviolable Integrity of
 "His Majesty, and the implacable Malice of
 "His Enemies, they despaired of any happy
 "Issue.

But beyond the Faith of these men, and the Hopes of the other, the *King's* incredible Prudence had found Temperaments for their most harsh Propositions. And by a present Judgment and commanding Eloquence did
 to urge His own, and refell their Arguments,
 that

that He forced an Admiration of Himself, and which was a Testimony of the Divine Assistance, drew many of the unwilling Commissioners to His own Opinion (though their Commission, and the danger of their Lives, necessitated them, contrary to the dictates of their own Consciences, to prolong the Debates;) with a wonderful Lenity proved their Demands unjust, yet granted what was not directly against His Honour and Conscience: Thus divesting Himself of His own Rights, He demonstrated that He had those Affections which might justly style Him *the Father of His Country*. For He indeavoured by His own Losses to repair the damages of His People. Yet the *King* saw by the Obstinacy of the most Powerful of those He Treated with, that they intended nothing less than Peace, nor any thing more than His Destruction; which that it might be adequate to their Malice, they would have it accompanied with the damnation of His Soul (as He Himself in bitterness complained to One of His Servants) pressing Him to do those things which they themselves acknowledged sinful, as the Alienation of Church-Lands. Although His Majesty was thus sensible of their insatiable thirst for His Blood, yet because He had passed His Royal Word not to stir out of that Island, He did not hearken to the same Servant, who perswaded Him to pro-

vide for His Safety by flight, which He assured Him was not difficult, and in administering to which He offered to hazard his own blood. But the *King* always thought His Life beneath the Honour of Faithfulness, and would not give His Enemies that advantage over His Fame, which their unjust Arms and Frauds had gotten upon His Person, chusing rather to endure whatsoever Providence had allotted for Him, than by any approach to Infamy seek to protract those days which He now began to be weary of: *For that life is no longer desirable to Just Princes, which their People either cannot or will not preserve.* And He thought it *more Eligible to die by the Wickedness of Others, than to live by His own.*

While the Treaty thus proceeded, the Army under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax* and *Ireton*, (this last was Bold, Subtle, Perfidious and Active in all Designs; so that his Soul being congenial with that of *Cromwell*, had been the cause of an Alliance betwixt them, for he had Married one of *Cromwell's* Daughters, and therefore was left to hover about the General as an evil *Genius*, that he might do nothing contrary to their Impious Design,) drew towards *London*, and quartered within half a days march from the City; that if their Interest did require, they might the more suddenly oppress those who

were

were less favourable to their Enterprises. The Officers did at first publicly profess a great Modesty, as that *they would quietly submit to the Orders of the Parliament; that they did prefer the Common Peace to their own private Advantages, and should be glad to be dismissed from the toyls of War*: yet in private practised an universal Confusion, for mingling Counsels with their Factious Party in the Two Houses, they set up again the Meetings of their Adjutors, framed among themselves Petitions against the Treaty, and to require that all Delinquents without difference (wherein they included the Person of the *King*) might be brought to Tryal; and by their Emissaris abroad drew some inconsiderable and ignominious persons, (by representing large spoils in the subversion of Monarchy, and imaginary advantages by the change of Government.) to subscribe to them.

When they thought these practices had produced their desired effect, and they had infected most of the Souldiers in the several Garrisons, and that more Parties of their Army were gathered to their Quarters about *London*; *Ireton*, under pretext of a Contrast betwixt him and *Fairfax*, withdraws himself privately to *Windsor Castle*, where being met by some of his Complices in the Parliament, they joyntly frame a Declaration in an impe-

rious and affected Style. Wherein in the name of the Army he maliciously declaims against all Peace with the *King*, and His Restitution to the Government: afterwards he impiously demands that he may be dealt with as the Grand and Capital Delinquent: with these he mingles some things to terrifie the Parliament, some to please the Souldiers, and others to raise hopes of Novelty in the Rabble.

This being prepared, and the Treaty now drawing towards an End (which those of the Faction had prolonged and disturbed, that the Army might have more time to gather together) and the Commanders having a perfect Intelligence how all things in the *Isle of Wight* and in the Parliament did strongly tend to an Accommodation, they thought it now seasonable to begin their intended Crime. Therefore they speedily call a Council of War, at which met the Colonels, and other inferiour Officers, all men of Mercenary Souls, Seditious, Covetous, and so accustomed to Diffimulation, that they seemed to be composed by nature to frame and colour Impostures. They began their Meeting with Prayers and Fasting, pretending to inquire and seek the Will of God concerning the Wickedness they had predetermined to act. *This is the constant practice of such who would most securely abuse the Patience of the People, while they commit*

the

the most horrid Crimes. For not being able to honest their Iniquities by any colour of Reason, or any Command of the known Will of God, they pretend to a guidance by Revelation and Returns of Prayer. This Imposture they had hitherto successfully used; and the credulous Rabble of the common Souldiers were drawn to a perswasion, that God did counsel all the Designs of these armed Saints. Thus having prefaced their Villany, Ireton produces his Remonstrance, which being read among them was received by the Souldiers (who, through a pleasure in blood, and hopes of Spoil, are used to praise every thing of their Chiefs, whether good or bad, that tends to disturbance, and continuance of War,) with as great an Applause as if it had been an Oracle from Heaven; and to make it the more terrible, they styled it the Remonstrance of the Army, and order it to be presented to the Parliament in the name of the Army and People of England.

“ When this Remonstrance was published,
 “ the minds of men were variously affected.
 “ Some wondred that persons of so abject a
 “ Condition should dare to endeavour the al-
 “ teration of an Ancient Government, an at-
 “ tempt so far above their fortune; and to
 “ design against the Person of their Sove-
 “ reign, who by the Splendour of his former
 “ Majesty, and by a continued Descent from

“ so many Royal Progenitors, had derived all
 “ that challenges the Reverence of the People.
 “ And they thought the act so full of a mani-
 “ fest Wickedness, that the Contrivers could
 “ not really intend the Execution, but only
 “ used it as a Mordant to frighten the *King*
 “ and Parliament to hearken to their Preten-
 “ sions of a lesser guilt. Others considering
 “ their former Crimes and Injuries both to
 “ *King* and People, and their damnable blas-
 “ phemies of the Almighty God, did truly
 “ judge that their preceding Iniquities had
 “ now habituated and temper’d them for the
 “ extremest mischiefs; and that having pro-
 “ ceeded thus far, they would think their
 “ Safety consisted in an accumulation of their
 “ Sins. Only they admired that these men
 “ would discredit their ancient Arts of pre-
 “ tending to God’s Direction. (in which they
 “ could not so easily by every Vulgar judg-
 “ ment be apprehended) by boasting of the
 “ Concurrence of the People, which was too
 “ evident a Cheat, for not one in a thousand
 “ through the whole Nation but did abomi-
 “ nate their practices. But others more Spe-
 “ culative knew it was *the accustomed Method*
 “ *of the Subverters of a lawfull Magistracy and*
 “ *Invaders of a Tyranny, first to seek the favour*
 “ *of the Rabble by high pretences of Liberty and*
 “ *Justice, and then to boast of it as though they*
 “ *had it, and were entrusted by the People to*
 “ recover

“ recover what they presented to their hopes and
 “ desires; and that these men following the
 “ same practices would be the greatest Op-
 “ pressors of those whom they pretended to
 “ vindicate.

The Parliament though hitherto they had been very obsequious to the Army, yet the Members now meeting in greater Numbers than usually, and preferring the utmost hazards to a Compliance with this Remonstrance, laid it aside, and fell to debate the *King's Concessions* which then lay before them. This free and stout Carriage of theirs was much resented by the Souldiers, who stormed at the contempt of those whose Grandeur depended upon their Arms. And lest they should miscarry in their Chief Design, and lose the Sacrifice to their Ambition, they immediately sent a Party of their Army into the *Isle of Wight*, to secure the *King*: these laying hold upon Him, with a most Insolent Rudeness, not permitting the delay of a Breakfast, forced Him from the *Island* into *Hurst Castle*, an unwholesome and sordid place. The other part of their Army they cause to march towards *London*, with all the imaginable signs of terrour, as if they went to sack and plunder an Enemies Town. When they had entred, they were quartered in those Houses of the *King* and Nobility which were nearest

nearest the Parliament-House, hoping by the greatness and nearness of the danger, so to affright those Members who were not so wicked as to comply with them, that they should voluntarily withdraw, and hiding themselves, leave the possession to their own scanty Party. For then the Violence would seem less, and give more Authority to their unjust Decrees.

But the honest Members were more in love with Justice, and therefore not terrified with the Menaces and Clamours of the Souldiers, but as inspired with some unaccustomed Courage at this time, and thinking themselves guarded by the Priviledges of Parliament, with a greater boldness than usually they did upon designs, they appear in the House. Where the *Commoners* re-assuming the consideration of the *King's Concessions*, continued that Debate till past Midnight; the Factious Party, and the Creatures of the Army still raising new Doubts and Scruples, multiplying Cavils, and by tedious harangues wasting the time, that the more Just Party, which consisted most of Gentlemen of Fortunes, not accustomed to such Watchings and Fastings, might be wearied out, and leave them to their own Resolves: and also that they might give time to the whole Army to march into the *City* that Night. Among the

rest,

rest, Sir Henry Vane, (who was born to disquiet the world, and to be a firebrand of Communities, yet still carrying his designs of Confusion under a feigned meekness and simplicity of the Gospel) This Man in the *Isle of Wight* had perswaded the *King* not to be prodigal in His *Concessions*; that He had already yielded more than was fit for them to ask, or Him to grant, and undertook to make it evident to the whole world: yet now did most fiercely and perfidiously inveigh against the *Concessions*, as designed by the *King* under the species of Peace to ruine the Parliament and Common-wealth. Yet at last, notwithstanding those Terrours without, and Troubles within, the House came to this Resolve, that *The Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground for Peace*. Which was carried by Two Hundred Voices, and there were scarce Sixty Dissenters.

The next day the same Resolve was passed by the *Lords* in the very same terms, not one dissenting. Who immediately adjourned for a week, to wait whether this fury of the Army would spend it self after so generous an opposition. And the House of Commons sent some of their own Members to acquaint the Lord *Fairfax* and his Officers of this their Vote. This free and publick detestation of the Crime, that was designed, did extremely enrage

enrage the Projectors of it, and the Democratick Party in the House mingled Threatnings with their Advices. For One of the Chiefs of the Faction could not forbear to assure them, that *If they continued in this their Resolve, they should never after have Liberty of meeting there again.* Which accordingly was executed : for the next day they were to meet there, the Colonels had placed a guard of two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse upon the House of Commons, who strictly keeping all the Avenues thereto, that none might enter without their Licence, laid hold upon Forty Members that were Persons of the most known Integrity and highest Resolution ; they denied admission to One hundred and fifty more, and suffered none to enter of whose servile compliance they were not well assured. Some that had escaped their observation , and got into the House , by tickets, as from Friends or Servants, they invite forth ; whom being once without doors they violently force away, while they in vain pleaded the *Privileges of Parliament.*

The imprisoned Members they vex and torture with great Indignities, exposing them to the mockeries and insolencies of the Common Souldiers : although there were among them many that had before Commanded Armies, Brigades and Regiments in the Parliament's

liament's cause against the *King*; and others that had been most importunate assertors of their first injustice to their Prince. "Those that beheld these vicissitudes wondered, and acknowledged the just Judgment of God, that had thus visibly and properly punished the Injustice of these men against their Lawful Sovereign by the ministry of their own more vile and mercenary Souldiers, and did thus upbraid them with the falseness of their Principles by which they acted against the *King*; the very same now serving to honest this violence that was committed on them: for both equally pretended to a Necessity of Reformation, and Self-preservation. Others were inquisitive for the faith of these men, who taking up Arms for the Sacred Privileges of Parliament, had now left nothing but the Walls of that House. For the Number that would serve them was not equal to the Name of a Parliament, being scarce the eighth part of that Convention, and not much above Forty in all, and those the reproach of that Assembly. For besides those that were violently excluded, others that did abhor the Conditions of sitting there withdrew themselves to their own homes. And many of those who formerly deluded by their pretensions to Religion, Justice and Liberty, had hitherto been of the Faction, yet
now

now awakened by those clamorous Crimes, forsook their bloody Confederacy.

Yet did not this contemptible Number, of which in most Votes there were Twenty Dissenters, blush to assume the Authority of managing the weightiest Affairs of the *English Empire*, to alter and change the Government, to expose His Majesty to a violent Murther, and to overthrow the Ancient Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. For being wholly devoted to the service of the Army, they communicated counsels with them; and whatsoever was resolved at the *Council of War*, passed into a Law by the Votes of this Infamous Remnant of the House of Commons, who now served the Souldiers in hopes of part of the Spoil, and a precarious *Greatness*, which being acquired by so much Wickedness could not be lasting. In order therefore to the Army's design they revive those Votes of *No Address to the King*; (which had at first but surreptitiously, and by base practices passed, and had been afterwards Repealed by a full House.) Those Votes of a *Treaty with the King*, and of the *Satisfactoriness of His Concessions*, with scorn they rased out of the *Journal-Book*. And then proceeded to Vote,

1. *That the People under God are the Original of all Just Power.*

2. *That*

2. *That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being Chosen by, and Representing the People, have the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*

3. *That whatsoever is enacted and declared for Law by the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament (by which they understood themselves) hath the force of a Law.*

4. *That all the People of this Nation are concluded thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.*

5. *That to raise Arms against the People's Representative or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is High Treason.*

6. *That the King Himself took Arms against the Parliament, and on that account is guilty of the blood shed throughout the Civil War, and that He ought to expiate the crime with His own blood.*

“Those that were less affected with the
“common Fears and Miseries could not tem-
“per their mirth and scorn at such ridiculous
“Usurpers; that thought to adjust their
“Crimes by their own Votes; that in one
“breath

"breath would adorn the People with the
 "Spoils of *Monarchy*; and in the next rob
 "the People to invest themselves. And (it
 "is said that) even *Cromwell* (who intended
 "to ruine our Liberty,) was ashamed, and
 "scorned their so ready Slavery, and after-
 "wards did swear at the Table of an Inde-
 "pendent Lord, that he knew them to be Rascals,
 "and he would so serve them. Others of more
 "melancholy Complexions; considering the
 "baseness of these servile Tyrants, and the
 "humours of their barbarous Masters the
 "Souldiers, all whose inhumanities they were
 "to establish by a Law; and that Power got-
 "ten by Wickedness cannot be used with the
 "Modesty that is fit for Just Magistrates; just-
 "ly feared that as under the King they had
 "enjoyed the height of Liberty; so under
 "these men they were to be overwhelmed in
 "the depth of Slavery: and that these Votes
 "which overturned the very Foundation of
 "our Laws, could not be designed but for
 "some horrid Impiety, and our lasting Bon-
 "dage, which came so to pass.

For in their next Consultations they Con-
 stitute a *Tribunal* to Sentence their *Sovereign*
 (which afterwards they used as a Shambles for
 the most Loyal and Gallantest of the *Nobles*
 and *People*) of the most abject Subjects; and
 to procure a Reverence to the Vilest of men,
 they

they give it the specious name of *The High Court of Justice*. For which they appoint One hundred and fifty Judges (that the Number might seem to represent the whole Multitude) of the most violent and heady of all the Faction: To whom they give a *Power of Citing, Hearing, Judging and Punishing* CHARLES STUART King of England. To make up this Number they had named six *Peers* of the Upper House, and the twelve *Judges* of the Land. But the greatest part were Officers of the Army (who having confederated against His Majesty, and publicly required His Blood, could not without a contempt to the light of Reason be appointed His Judges) and Members of the Lower House, who were most violent against Monarchy, and indeed all Government wherein themselves had no share. The rest were Persons pick'd out of the City of *London* and Suburbs thereof, who they imagined would be most obsequious to their Lusts.

“ Those that surveyed the List, and knew
 “ the Men, deemed them most unfit for a
 “ Trust of Justice, and proper Instruments
 “ for any wicked undertaking; for of these
 “ Judges one or two were *Cobblers*, others
 “ *Brewers*, one a *Goldsmith*, and many of
 “ them *Mechanicks*. Such among them as
 O “ were

“ were descended of Ancient Families, were
“ men of so mean worth, that they were on-
“ ly like the *Statues* of their Ancestors, had
“ nothing but their Names to make them
“ known unto the World. Some of them
“ were *Spend-thrifts*, *Bankrupts*, (such as
“ could be neither safe nor free, unless the
“ Kingdom were in Bondage) and most no-
“ torious *Adulterers*, whose every Member was
“ infamous with its proper Vice; Vain and
“ Atheistical in their Discourse, Cowardly,
“ and Base in Spirit, Bloody and Cruel in
“ their Counsels, and those Parts that can-
“ not honestly be named were most dishonest.
“ One of them was accused of a *Rape*; Ano-
“ ther had published a *Book* of Blasphemies
“ against the *Trinity of the Deity*. Some of
“ them could not hope to get *impunity* for
“ their Oppressions of the Country and Ex-
“ pilations of the publick Treasure, but by
“ their Ministry to this Murther. Others could
“ not promise themselves an *advancement* of
“ their abject or declining Fortune but by this
“ Iniquity. Yet all these by the Faction were
“ inrolled in the Register of Saints, though
“ fitter to stand as Malefactors at the Bar, than
“ to sit upon Seats of Judgment. And notwith-
“ standing their diligent search for such a Num-
“ ber of men, who would not blush at nor fear
“ any guilt, some of those whom they had
“ named, in abhorrency of the Impiety, refu-
“ sed

" sed to sit ; and some that did, yet met there
 " in hopes of disturbing their Counsels.

All this while the House of *Peers* were not Consulted, and it was commonly supposed that most of them terrified with those Preparations against the *King* (*the only defence of the Nobles against the Popular Envie*) would absent themselves from that House, except four or five that were the Darlings of the Faction ; and they deemed the Names and Compliance of those few were enough to give credit and Authority to their bloody Act. But in them they were disappointed also ; for some of the *Peers* did constantly meet, and on that day wherein the *Bill for Tryal of the King* was carried up to that House, there were Seventeen then present (a greater Number than usual,) who all Unanimously (even the Democratick Lords not dissenting) did reject *the Bill as Dangerous and Illegal*. This so highly provoked the Fury of the Faction, that they meditated a severe revenge, and for the present blotted out those *Peers*, whose Names they had before put into their Ordinance, to make their Court more splendid. After this they did also rase out the names of the *Judges of the Land* ; for they being privately Consulted concerning these Proceedings against the *King*, (although they had been all raised to that Dignity and Trust by the Faction,

on, yet) answered, that *It was contrary to the known Laws and Customs of England, that the King should be brought to Tryal.*

To heal these two wounds which the *Lords* and *Judges* had branded their Cause with, they use two other artifices to keep up the Spirits and Concurrence of their Party. First, they bring from *Hertfordshire* a Woman (some say a *Witch*) who said, that *God by a Revelation to her did approve of the Army's Proceedings.* Which Message from Heaven was well accepted of with Thanks, as *being very seasonable, and coming from an humble Spirit.* A second was the *Agreement of the People*, which was a Module of a *Democratical Polity*, wherein those whose abject Condition had set them at a great distance from Government, had their hopes raised to a share of it, if they conspired to remove the great Obstruction, which was the Person and Life of the *King.* This was presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller* and sixteen other Officers, as a temporary remedy; for when they had perpetrated their Impiety, they discountenanced and fiercely prosecuted those that endeavoured it.

In confidence of these their Arts and their present Power, notwithstanding all these Publick Abhorrencies and detestations by all Persons of Honour and Knowledge, they Enacted

ed their Bill. And for *President* of this Court, they chose one of the Number, *John Bradshaw*; "A person of an equal Infamy with his new employment. A Monster of Impudence, and a most fierce Prosecutor of evil purposes. Of no repute among those of his own Robe for any Knowledge in the Law: but of so virulent and petulant a Language, that he knew no measure of modesty in Speaking; and was therefore more often bribed to be silent, than fee'd to maintain a Client's Cause. His Vices had made him penurious, and those with his penury had seasoned him for any execrable undertaking. They also had a *Solicitor* of the same Metal, *John Cooke*, "A needy man, who by various Arts, and many Crimes had sought for a necessary Subsistence, yet still so poor, that he was forced to seek the shelter of obscure and sordid corners to avoid the Prison. So that vexed with a tedious Poverty, he was prevailed upon through the hopes of some splendid booties to venture on this employment, which at the first mention he did profess to abhor. These were their Chief Agents: other inferior Ministers they had equally qualified with these their prime Instruments, as *Dorislaus* a German *Bandito*, who was to draw up the Charge; *Steele*, another of their Counsel, under pretence of sickness covered

his fear of the Event, though he did not abhor the wickedness of the Enterprize, having before used his Tongue in a cause very unjust, and relating to this, the Murther of Captain *Burleigh*, *The Serjeants*, *Clerks* and *Cryer* were so obscure, that the world had never taken notice of them, but by their subserviency to this Impiety.

These were the Publick Preparations; In private they continually met to contrive the Form of their Proceedings, and the Matter of their Accusation. Concerning the first, they were divided in Opinions. Some would have the *King* first formally degraded and devested of all His Royal habiliments and Ensignes of Majesty, and then as a private person exposed to Justice. But this seemed to require a longer space of time than would comport with their project, which, as all horrid acts, was to be done in a present fury, lest good Counsels might gather strength by their Delay. Others rejected this course as too evidently conforming with the *Popish* procedure against *Sovereign Princes*, and they feared to confirm that common Suspicion; that they followed *Jesuitical* Counsels (whose Society (it is reported) upon the *King's* offering to give all possible Security against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, at a Council of theirs did decree to use their whole Interest and

and Power with the Faction to hasten the *King's* death.) Which sober *Protestants* had reason enough to believe, because all or most of the Arguments which were used by the Assertors of this Violence on His Majesty, were but gleanings from *Popish* Writers. These Considerations cast the Determination on their side who, designing a Tyrannical *Oligarchy*, whereby they themselves might have a share in the Government, would have the *King* proceeded against as *King*, that by so shedding His Blood they might extinguish Majesty, and with Him murder Monarchy. For several of them did confess, that indeed He was guilty of no Crime more than that He was their *King*, and because the Excellency of His Parts, and Eminent Vertues, together with the Rights of His Birth, would not suffer Him to be a private Person.

In their second Debate about the Matter of Accusation, all willingly embraced the Advice of *Harrison* (who was emulous of the Power of *Cromwell*, and though now his Creature, yet afterwards became the Firebrand and Whirlwind of the following Times) to blacken Him as much as they could; yet found they not wherewith to pollute His Name. For their old Scandals which they had amassed in their Declaration for no more Addresses to the *King*, had been so publickly refuted, that

they could afford no colour for His Murther. Therefore they formed their Accusation from that War to which they had necessitated Him. And their Charge was, that *He had levied War against the Parliament; that He had appeared in Arms in several places, and did there proclaim War, and executed it by killing several of the Good People; for which they impeached Him as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and an implacable Common Enemy.* "This Charge, "in the Judgment of Considering men, argued a greater guilt in those that prosecuted it, than in Him against whom it was formed: for they seemed less sensible of the instability and infirmities of humane Nature, than those that had none but her light to make them generous, for such never reproached their conquered Enemies with their Victory; but these men would murder their own Prince, against whom they had nothing more to object than the unhappy issues of a War, which leaves the Conqueror the only Criminal, while the names of Justice and Goodness are the spoils of the Conquerour. How false those Imputations of Tyranny, Treason and Murther were, was sufficiently understood by those who considered the peaceful part of the King's Reign; wherein it was judged, that if in any thing He had declined from the safest Arts of Empire, it was in the neglect of a just Severity on

"Seditious

"Seditious persons whom the Laws had
 "condemned to die. And in the War it
 "was known how often His Lenity had clip-
 "ped the wings of Victory. But it ap-
 "peared that these men, as they had broken
 "all Rights of Peace, so they would also
 "those of Conquest, and destroy that which
 "their Arms pretended to save.

How little credit their Accusation found,
 appeared by the endeavours of all Parties
 to preserve the *King's* Person from Danger,
 and the Nation from the guilt of His Blood.
 For while they were thus engaged to perpe-
 trate their intended Mischiefs, all Parties de-
 clare against it. The *Presbyterian* Ministers,
 almost all those of *London*, and very many out
 of the several *Counties*, and some, though few,
 also of the *Independents*, did in their Sermons
 and Conferences, as also by Monitory Let-
 ters, Petitions, Protestations and Remon-
 strances, publicly divulged, adjure the As-
 sassinates not to draw so great a guilt upon
 themselves and the whole Nation by that
 Murther. For it was contrary to those numerous
 and fearful Obligations of their many Oaths; to
 the Publick and Private Faith, which was ex-
 press in their Protestations and many Declarati-
 ons; to the Laws of the Land, those of Nature,
 and Nations, and the Commands of Scripture.
 That is was to the dishonour of our Religion,
 and

and against the publick good of the Kingdom. But all was fruitless, for they had lost their Ministerial Authority by serving the Faction so long, till they needed not their Assistance, and despised their admonitions: Besides, the very same Principles they preached to kindle the War were now beat back into their faces, and made use of against them to adjust the Murther. The People also contemned them for their short-sightedness, in that they would be the heady and indiscreet Instruments of such men, and in such practices as must of necessity at last ruine them and all Ministers, as well as the *King* and Bishops.

The *Scots* also by their Commissioners declare and protest against it. The *States of Holland* by their Ambassadors (if they were faithful in their trust) did intercede, and deprecate it as most destructive to the *Protestant* Interest. Some of the most eminent of the *Nobility*, as the *Earl of Southampton*, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Marquess of Hertford*, the *Earl of Lindsey*, and others, neglect no ways, either by Prayers or Ransom, to save the *King*. Yea, they offered themselves, as being the prime Ministers of the *King's* Commands, as *Hostages* for Him, and if the Conspirators must needs be fed with blood, to suffer in His stead for whatsoever He had done amiss. The *Prince* piously affaies all ways and means to deliver His
Father

Father from the danger. For besides the *States Ambassadors* (whom He had procured) both He and the *Prince of Orange* did daily send as Agents the Kindred, Relations, and Allies of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the other Conspirators, with full power to propose any Conditions, make any Promises, and use all Threatnings to divert them, if it were possible, from their intended Cruelty, or at least to gain some time before the Execution. But all was in vain, for no Conditions of Peace could please them who were possessed with unlawful and immoderate desires: their Ambition (that is more impetuous than all other affections) had swallowed the hopes of Empire; therefore they would remove the *King* to enthrone themselves. Some thought that their despair of Pardon had hardened them to a greater Inhumanity, for if after all these attempts they continued the *King's* Life, they must beg their own; which they knew Justice would not, and they resolved Mercy should not give; for this is reckoned among the benefits which we hate to receive, and *Men are usually ashamed to confess they deserved death.*

Whatsoever it was that truly made them thus cruel, they publicly pretended no other Motive than the *Calls* and *Duties* of *Providence*, and the *Impulses* of the *Blessed Spirit*.
To

206 *The LIFE of*

To carry on this Cheat, *Hugh Peters* ("the
 "Pulpit-Buffoon, of a luxuriant Speech,
 "skill'd to move the Rabble by mimical Ge-
 "stures, Impudent, and Prodigal of his own
 "and others fame, Ignominious from his
 "Youth, for then suffering the contumely of
 "Discipline, being publickly whipt, at *Cam-*
 "*bridge*, he was ever after an Enemy to Go-
 "vernment, and therefore leagu'd himself
 "with unquiet Sectaries) preaches before
 "these fictitious Judges upon that Text,
Psal. 149. 8. To bind their Kings in chains, and
their Nobles in fetters of Iron. He assures them
 undoubtedly that this was prophesied of
 them, that they were the *Saints* related to in
 that Scripture, that they should judge the
Kings of the Earth, often calling them in his
 profane Harangue the *Saint-Judges*. Then
 he professed, that *he had for a certain found*
upon a strict Scrutiny, that there were in the
Army 5000 Saints, no less holy than those that
now in Heaven conversed with God. After-
 wards kneeling in his Pulpit, weeping and
 lifting up his hands, he earnestly begs them
 in the name of the *People of England*, that they
 would execute Justice upon that Wretch
CHARLES, and would not let *Benhadad*
 escape in Safety. Then he inveighs against
Monarchy, and wrests the Parable of *Jotham*
 to his purpose, wherein when the *Trees* would
 chuse a *King*, the *Vine* and the *Olive* refused
 the

the Dignity, but the *Bramble* received the Empire, and he compared *Monarchy* to the *Bramble*. And all the while of contriving and executing this Murther he preached to the Souldiers, and in some places about the *City*, bitterly and contemptuously railing against the *King*. Others also of the Congregational perswasion acted their parts in this *Tragedy*, but more closely, and not so much in the face of the Sun.

The Conspirators taking heat from their infamous Preachers, whom they themselves had first kindled, and somewhat doubting that these several strong Applications from all Parties to save the *King*, and the Universal Discontents, might take some advantage from their delay, with more speed hasten the Assassination. In order to which they send a *Serjeant of Arms* with a guard of Horse (lest the People should stone him for his Employment) into *Westminster-Hall*, and other places in *London*, to summon all that could lay any crime to the *King's* charge, to come, and give in their evidence against Him. Having proclaimed their wicked purposes, and dress'd up a *Tribunal* at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*, with all the shapes of terroure, where the *President* with his abject and bloody Assistants were placed, thither afterwards they bring this most Excellent *Monarch*, whom having despoiled

despoiled of three Great Kingdoms, they now determined also to deprive of Life.

Into which Scene the *King* enter'd with a generous Miene, shewing no signs of discomposure, nor any thing beneath His former Majesty; but as if He were to combat for Glory the Monsters of Mankind, He undauntedly took the Seat which was set for Him, with scorn looking upon the fictitious Judges, and with pity upon the People, who crouding in (the great Gates of the *Hall* being flung open) did bewail in Him the frailty of our Humane condition, whose highest Greatness hath no Security: A sad Spectacle even to those that were not in danger.

He being set, the Charge against Him was read, with all those reproachful terms of *Tyrant, Traitor* and *Murderer*; after which He was impleaded in the name of the *People of England*. This false Slander of the *People of England* was heard with Impatience and Detestation of all, and stoutly attested against by the Lady *Fairfax*, Wife of the Lord *Fairfax*, who by this act shewed her self worthy of her Extract from the Noble Family of the *Veres*; for from an adjoining Scaffold where she stood, she cryed out with a loud voice (but not without danger) that *It was a Lie, not the Tenth part of the People were guilty of* such

such a Crime, but all was done by the Machinations of that Traitor Cromwell.

But the *King* after the Charge was read with a countenance full of Majesty and Gravity, demands by what Authority they proceeded with Him thus contrary to the Publick Faith, and what Law they had to try Him that was an absolute Sovereign. *Bradshaw* replying, that of the Parliament; His Majesty shewed the detestable Falshood in pretending to what they had not, and if they had it, yet it could not justifie these Practices. To which reply when they could not answer, they force Him back to the place of His Captivity.

The Magnanimity of the *King* in this days contest with these inhumane Butchers, did much satisfy the People, and they were glad (while they thought not of His Danger) that He wanted not either Speech or Courage against so powerful Enemies; that He had spoken nothing unworthy of Himself, and had preserved the Fame of His Vertues even in so great Adversities. For He seemed to triumph over their Fortune whose Arms He was now subject to. The Parricides sought to break His Spirit by making His appearances frequent before such contemptible Judges, and often exposing Him to the contempt of the
armed

armed Rabble ; therefore four days they tor-
 ture Him with the Impudence and Reproaches
 of their Infamous Solicitor and President
 But He still refused to own their Authority
 which they could not prove lawful, and he
 excellently demonstrated their abominable
 Impiety, that He made Col. *Downes*, one of
 their Court, to boggle at, and disturb their
 Proceedings. They therefore at last proceed-
 ed to take away that Life which was not to be
 separated from Conscience and Honour, and
 pronounced their Sentence of Death upon
 their Lawful and Just Sovereign, *Jan. 27.* not
 suffering Him to speak after the Decree of
 their Villany, but hurrying Him back to the
 place of His Restraint.

At His departure He was exposed to all the
 Insolencies and Indignities that a Phanatick
 and base Rabble, instigated by *Peters* and
 other *Instructors of Villany*, could invent and
 commit. And He suffer'd many things so con-
 formable to *Christ His King*, as did alleviate
 the sense of them in Him, and also instruct
 Him to a correspondent Patience and Cha-
 rity. When the barbarous Souldiers cryed
 out at His departure, *Justice, Justice, Execu-
 tion, Execution*, as those deceived *Jews* did
 once to their KING, *Crucifie Him, Crucifie
 Him* ; this Prince, in imitation of that most
 Holy King, pitied their blind fury, and said,
 Poor

Poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would do as much for their Commanders. As He passed along, some in defiance spit upon His Garments, and one or two (as it was reported by an Officer of theirs, who was one of their Court, and praised it as an evidence of His Souldiers Gallantry, while others were stupified with their prodigious baseness) polluted His Majestick Countenance with their unclean spittle: the Good King, reflecting on His great Exemplar and Master, wiped it off, saying, My Saviour suffer'd far more than this for me. Into his very face they blowed their stinking Tobacco, which they knew was very distasteful to Him; and in the way where He was to go, just at His feet, they flung down pieces of their nasty pipes. And as they had devest-ed themselves of all humanity, so were they impatient and furious if any one shewed Reverence or Pity to Him as He passed. (For no honest Spirit could be so forgetful of humane frailty, as not to be troubled at such a sight; to see a Great and Just King, the rightful Lord of three flourishing Kingdoms, now forced from His Throne, and led captive through the streets.) Such as pull'd off their Hats, or bowed to Him, they beat with their Fists and Weapons, and knock'd down one dead but for crying out, God be merciful unto Him.

When they had brought Him to His Chamber,

ber, even there they suffered Him not to rest, but thrusting in and smoaking their filthy Tobacco, they permitted Him no privacy to *Prayer and Meditation*. Thus through variety of Tortures did the *King* pass this day, and by His Patience wearied His Tormentors: nothing unworthy His former greatness of Fortune and Mind by all these Affronts was extorted from Him, though *Indignities and Injuries are unusual to Princes*, and these were such as might have forced passion from the best-tempered meekness, had it not been strengthened with assistance from Heaven. In the Evening the *Conspirators* were acquainted by a Member of the Army, of the *King's* desire, that seeing His death was nigh, it might be permitted Him to see His *Children*, and to receive the *Sacrament*, and that Doctor *Juxon*, then Lord Bishop of London, (now Archbishop of Canterbury) might be admitted to pray with Him in His private Chamber. The first they did not scruple at, the Children in their power being but two, the Lady *Elizabeth* and the *Duke of Gloucester*, and they very young. The second they did not readily grant. Some would have had *Peters* to undertake that employment for which the Bishop was sent for: But he declined it with some Scoffs, as knowing that the *King* hated the Offices of such an unhallowed Buffoon. So that at last they permitted the Bishops ac-

cess

cess to the *King*, to whom his eminent Integrity had made him dear. For with so wonderful a prudence and uprightness he had managed the envious Office of the *Treasury*, that that accusing age, especially of *Church-men*, found not matter for any impeachment, nor ground for the least reproach.

The next day being *Sunday*, the *King* was removed to *S. James's*, where the *Bishop of London* read Divine Service, and preached before Him in private on these words, *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel*. While the *King* and the *Bishop* at this time, and also at other times, were performing the *Divine Service*, the rude Souldiers often rushed in, and disturbed their *Offices* with vulgar and base Scoffs, vain and frivolous Questions. The Commanders likewise, and other impertinent *Anabaptists* did interrupt His Meditations, who came to tempt and try Him, and provoke Him, to some unnecessary disputations. But He maintained His own Cause with so irrefragable Arguments, that He put some to silence, the petulancy of others He neglected, and with a modest contempt dissembled their Scoffs and Reproaches. In the narrow space of this one day, and under so continued Affronts and Disturbances, the *King* (whose whole Soul was totally composed to

P 2

Religion,)

Religion,) applied Himself, as much as was possible, to the Reading Holy Scriptures, to Prayer, Confession of Sins, Supplications for the forgiveness of His Enemies, the receiving the Eucharist, holy Conferences, and all the Offices of Piety: so under the utmost Malice and Hatred of men, He laboured for the Mercy of God, and to fit Himself for His last victory over Death.

While the *King* thus spent this day, the *Ministers* in the several Churches in *London*, and in those parts of the Kingdom where His danger was known, were very earnest in their Prayers to God for His Deliverance and Spiritual Assistance. “Some of them in their Sermons declared the horreur of that sin that was about to be committed, detested the impiety of the Parricides, and denounced the heavy Judgments which such a sinful Nation polluted with their Prince’s blood were to expect. The *Congregations* were dissolved into Tears. Some bewailed the sad Condition of the *King*, as the effect of the Sins of the Nation. Others cursed their damnable Credulity of the Slanders of that Just Man, and the promises of Liberty by their Impostors. And another sort wept, because their Fears did prognosticate those Miseries which the Issue of His blood would let in upon them. And every one found matter
“ of

“ of grief, fear, and indignation in the loss of so
 “ Excellent a Prince. All countenances were
 “ full of sadness and astonishment, there was
 “ no Tumults nor any Quiet, every one list-
 “ ning and hearkning, either as impatient to
 “ know the greatness of their Misery, or
 “ greedy to receive some hopes of Comfort
 “ in their Sovereign’s Safety; otherwise there
 “ was a stilness like that which too strong
 “ Passions effect, and might be thought a Stu-
 “ pidity rather than a Calmness.

The next day, being *Jan. 29.* the *King* was permitted the sight of His Children. His conference and words with them was taken in writing and communicated to the World by the Lady *Elizabeth* His Daughter, a Lady of most eminent Endowments; who though born in the supremest Fortune, yet lived in continual Tears, the passages of her Life being spent in beholding the Ruines of her Family, and the Murther of her dear Father, whom she not long survived, but died in that Confinement to which they had cheated His Majesty, in *Carisbrook Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*.

While these things were done in publick, the *Conspirators* meet in private in a Committee, to appoint every one their part in this Tragedy, determine what Gestures they were

to affect, what Words they were to use, as also for the manner, place and time of the *Murther*. In which Consultations, both now and before the Sentence, each one, according to the bloodiness of his temperament, or servilely to flatter *Cromwell*, by their Cruelty to Him that did obstruct his Ambition, did propose several ways either of contempt or hatred in killing their sentenced, yet anointed, *Sovereign*. Some would have His Head and Quarters fastned upon Poles (as it is usual with Traitors) that the marks of their Cruelty might out-last His Death. Others would have Him hanged, as they punished Thieves and Murtherers. Others gave their Vote that He should suffer in His Royal Habiliments with His Crown, and in His Robes, that it might be a Triumph of the Peoples power over *Kings*.

At last they think it sufficient that He should lose His Head by the stroak of an Axe on a Scaffold near *White-Hall* Gates before the *Banqueting-House*, that so from thence where He used to sit on His Throne, and shew the Splendour of Majesty, He might pass to His Grave; there parting with the Ensigns of Royalty, and laying them down as Spoils, where He had before used them as the Ornaments of Empire. Thus did they endeavour to make their Malice Ingenious, and provided Triumphs

Triumphs for their revenge. And because they suspected, or were informed, that as the King had not owned their Authority, so He would not submit to their Execution, nor willingly stoop to the Block, they caused to be fastned in it some Iron Staples and Rings, that by them with Cords they might draw Him down, if He would not comply. But His prudent Meekness prevented this Inhumanity; and He died disowning their Authority, though He could not escape their Power.

In the midst of these Preparations, they cause some Souldiers to offer to His Majesty certain Articles and Conditions, to which if He would subscribe, they promise Life, and the continuance of a precarious Empire: either out of a Terrour and Fear of the consequents of their Impieties; for the confidence of contriving great Crimes is often turned into a sollicitude when they come to be acted: or out of Design to ruine His Conscience and Honour, together with His mortal Life, if He should consent. But when one or two of them had been read to Him, He refused to hear any more, saying, *I will suffer a thousand deaths ere I will so prostitute my Honour, or betray the Liberties of my People.* Thus mindful of Justice, He would not deface the Splendour of His former

Vertues with a too impotent desire of Life.

At last that Fatal Day, Jan. 30. approached: and that morning, a little before His Death, the Conspirators ordered some of their *Ministers*, viz. *Marshal, Nye, Caryl, Salway* and *Dell*, to pray with Him, as they said, in order to His passage out of this Life; but when these sent to let Him know the end of their coming, He returned answer that *He was busie*: they sent a second time and He replied that *He was at His Devotions*: they importunately sent a third time, and my Lord of *London* then desiring to know what answer he should give to satisfy them; His Majesty then as unconcerned in their Ministry said, *My Lord, you may give them what answer you please, but I am resolved, that they who have so often and so causelessly prayed against Me, shall not in this My Agony pray with Me, they may pray for Me if they please.* Therefore the *King* arming Himself with His own Devotions in the Offices of the Church of *England*, in them found an unexpected Comfort; for the Gospel for that Day being the History of the Passion of our Saviour, did by that Example strengthen the *King* to follow *Jesus*, and to take up His Cross; and His Majesty was thankful for that Pattern. Being thus confirmed by the Blood (for He took the Sacrament that Morning) and sufferings of

His

His LORD (whose Vicegerent He was) together with His own Innocency, against the Terrors of Death; He was brought from S. James's through the Park to *White-Hall*, walking very fast, and with as chearful a Countenance as if He were going to Hunting, (a Recreation He was much pleased with,) often advising His slow Guards to move faster, adding, *I now go before you to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with less sollicitude than I formerly have led My Souldiers for an Earthly Diadem.* And being come to the end of the Park, He with much Alacrity went up the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and so into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where He continued some time in Devotion, while they were sitting the Theatre of His Murther

While these things were acting, the Lord *Fairfax*, who had always forbore any publick appearance in the practices of this Murther, had taken up (as is credibly reported) some Resolutions, (either in abhorrency of the Crime, or by the Solicitations of others) with his own Regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the Execution. This being suspected or known, *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Harrison* coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him, that the LORD *had rejected the King*; and with such like Language as they knew

knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning signed the Warrant for the Assassination; they also desired him *with them to seek the LORD by Prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing.* Which he assenting to, *Harrison* was appointed for the Duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous Discourse to God in such a length as might give time for the Execution, which they privately sent to their Instruments to hasten; of which when they had notice that it was past, they rose up, and perswaded the General that this was a full return of Prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it. There was likewise another attempt made by Col. *Downes*, who had disturbed them in their Court, to obstruct them in their Execution; for it is said, that he endeavoured to make a Mutiny in the Army to hinder the Wickedness, but the hast of the Assassins prevented him.

While these men acted their Wickedness by Prayers, to the lasting reproach of Christianity, the *King*, after He had finished His Supplications, was through the *Banqueting-House* brought to the Scaffold, which was dress'd to terrour, for it was all hung with Black, where were attending two Executioners in Disguises, and the Axe and the Block prepared.

prepared. But it prevailed not to affright Him whose Soul was already panting after another Life. And therefore He entred this ignominious and gasty Theatre with the same mind as He used to carry to His Throne, shewing no fear of death, but a Solitude for those that should live after Him. Looking about He saw divers Companies of Horse and Foot so placed on each side of the Street and about the Scaffold, that the People could not come near Him, and those that saw could not be Hearers; therefore omitting that Speech which it was probable He would have spoken to the People, He spoke to the Officers, and those that were then about Him, that which is now printed among His Works.

Having ended His Speech, He declared His Profession of Religion; and while He was preparing for the Block, He expressed what were His Hopes (for all the Righteous have such) in Death, saying, *I have a good Cause and a Gracious God on my side; I go from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.* After this composing Himself to an Address to God, having His Eyes and Hands like forerunners lifted up to Heaven, and expressing some short and private Ejaculations, He kneeled down before the Block as at a Desk of Prayer, and meekly submitted His Crowned
Head

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Head to the pleasure of His God, to be profaned by the Axe of the disguised Executioner: which was suddenly severed from His Body by one strong stroke. So fell CHARLES the First, and with Him expired the Glory and Liberty of Three Nations.

Thus the *King* finished His Martyrdom, but His Enemies not their Malice, who extended their Cruelty beyoud His Life, and abused the Headless Trunk. Some washed their hands in the Royal Blood, others dipt their staves in it; and that they might indulge their insatiate Covetousness as well as their boundless Inhumanity, they sold the chips of the Block, and the sands that were discoloured with His Blood, and exposed His very Hairs to sale: which the Spectators purchased for different uses. Some did it to preserve the Reliques of so Glorious a Prince, whom they so dearly loved. Others hoped that they would be as means of Cure for that disease which our English *Kings* (through the Indulgence of Heaven) by Their touch did usually heal: and it was reported that these Reliques experienced failed not of the effect. And some out of a brutish malice would have them as spoils and trophees of their hatred to their Lawful Sovereign. *Cromwell*, that he might feed his eyes with Cruelty, and satisfy his sollicitous Ambition, which aspired at *Monarchy*

narchy when the Lawful King was destroyed, curiously surveyed the murdered Carcass when it was brought in the Coffin into *White-Hall*, and to assure himself the *King* was quite dead, with his fingers searched the wound, whether the Head were fully severed from the body or no.

Afterwards they delivered the body to be unbowelled to an infamous *Empirick* of the Faction, together with the rude *Chirurgions* of the Army (not permitting the *King's* own Physicians to this Office) who were all most implacable enemies to His Majesty, and commanded them to search (which was as much as to bid them so report) *whether they could not find in it Symptomes of the French disease, or some evidences of Frigidity, and natural impotency*: that so they might have some colour to slander Him who was eminent for *Chastity*; or to make His Seed infamous. But this wicked design was prevented by a *Physician* of great Integrity and Skill, who intruding himself among them at the Dissection, by his Presence and Authority kept the obsequious Wretches from gratifying their Opprobrious Masters. And the same *Physician* also published that Nature had tempered the Royal Body to a longer life than commonly is granted to other men. And as His Soul was fitted by Heroick Virtues to *Eternity*, so His Body by a
Temperament

Temperament almost *ad pondus* made as near an approach to it as the present Condition of Mortality would permit.

Failing in these Opportunities of Calumny, with more Impudence and Rancor they use other ways to make Him odious, and rase the Love of Him out of the People's hearts. They conclude from the outward unhappinesses of His Reign unto an hatred of God against Him; and with the same Confidence as they inrolled themselves in the List of the Saints, and entred their own names in the Book of Life, they blotted His out, and placed Him in some of the dark and comfortless Cells of the damned: and they commonly professed it among the Disciples of the Faction as an Article of their belief, that it was impossible for Him or any of His party to be saved.

Not content with these Injuries to His Body and Soul, they endeavour likewise to murder His *Memory*. For they pull'd down His *Statue* which was placed at the West end of *S. Paul's Church*, and that other in the *Old Exchange*, and leaving the Arch void, they writ over, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*. But the Providence of God hath shewed them to be not only deceivers, but also deceived. For that Just Prince hath of His own Seed to sit upon

upon His Throne. And Posterity shall wonder at the Vanity as well as the Falseness of those men, that they should think to destroy the Memory of that Prince whose true and lasting Glory consisted not in any thing wherein it was possible for Successors to shew the Power of their Malice, but in a *solid Vertue, which flourisheth by Age, and whose Fame gathers strength from multitude of Years, when Statues and Monuments are obnoxious to the flames of a Violent Envy, and the Ruines of Time.*

Besides this they take care to suppress all those more Lively figures of Him and most lasting Statues, His Writings, and therefore force from My Lord of *London*, whom they kept prisoner, all those Papers His Majesty had delivered to him, and make a most narrow search of his Cloaths and Cabinets, lest any of those Monuments of Piety and Wisdom should escape to the Benefit of Mankind. Yet by the gracious Goodness of the Almighty God, to their eternal infamy, and for a perpetual Record of the *King's* great Vertues, there escaped their Search, and was published to the World, *The Book of His Meditations and Soliloquies.* In the Composition of which a Sober Reader cannot tell which to admire most, either His incredible Prudence, His ardent Piety, or His Majestick and truly

truly Royal Style. Those parts of it which consisted of Addresses to God corresponded so nearly in the Occasions, and were so full of the Piety and Elegancy of *David's Psalms*, that they seemed to be dictated by the same Spirit.

His very Assassins confessed the goodness of the Book, though they were ashamed He whom they had murdered should be the Author. For *Bradshaw* in his Examination of *Royston* who Printed it, asked him, *How he could think so bad a man* (for such would that Monster have this Excellent Prince thought to be) *could write so good a Book*. Therefore they laboured by all ways and means to suppress it, as the greatest witness against them to Posterity, and which would make them odious in all Generations. For the Blood of the Holy, Wise and Eloquent, leaves eternal stains of Infamy upon those that spill'd it; because no man reads their Works, but they curse those cruel hands which cut the veins and stopp'd the streams of so much Goodness; and we esteem them barbarous and inhumane Monsters who did not Reverence the Persons of those whose Writings we admire.

But their fury became ridiculous, while they thought by their present power to corrupt His Memory, and take off the admirati-

on of the following Ages; for the more they hindred the Publication, the more earnestly it was sought after: yet they endeavoured it another way, and therefore hired certain mercenary Souls to despoil the *King* of the Credit of being the Author of it. Especially one base Scribe, naturally fitted to compose Satyres and invent Reproaches, who made himself notorious by some licentious and infamous Pamphlets, and so approved himself as fit for their service. This man they encouraged (by translating him from a needy Pedagogue to the Office of a Secretary) to write that Scandalous Book *Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα*, (an Invective against the *King's* Meditations) and to answer the learned *Salmasius* his Defence of *Charles the First*. But all was in vain, for those that were able to judge of *Styles* found it must be the same Pen which wrought these Meditations, and drew those Letters which the Faction had published for His. Others, that were not able to satisfy themselves by such a Censure, were assured of it by the Relations of Colonel *Hammond* that was His Keeper, who did attest to several Persons that he saw them in the *King's* hand, heard Him read them, and did see Him to correct them in his presence. The Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* did also affirm to those he conversed with, that he was employed by a Command from the *King* to get some of

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them out of the hands of the Faction, for they were taken in His Cabinet at *Nasby*. And *Royston* that Printed them did testifie to those that enquired of him, that the *King* had sent to him the *Michaelmas* before His death; to provide a Press for some Papers He should send to Him, which were these, together with a design for a Picture before the Book; which at first was Three Crowns indented on a Wreath of Thorns, but afterwards the *King* recalled that, and sent that other which is now before His Book. Thus these several Testimonies did secure the faith of the World against the Slanderers, and made their endeavours as contemptible as themselves were hateful.

While the *Parricides* were seeking for fresh Occasions to express their Malice, the whole Kingdom was compos'd to Mourning and Lamentation; for never any *King*, not only of the *English*, but of whatsoever Throne, had His death lamented with greater Sorrows, nor left the World with a higher regret of the People. When the news of His Death was divulg'd, Women with Child for grief cast forth the untimely Fruit of their Womb, like Her that fell in Travel when *the Glory was departed from Israel*. Others, both Men and Women, fell into Convulsions and swoounding Fits, and contracted so deep a Melancholy

attended them to the Grave. Some unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not, live when their beloved Prince was slaughtered, (it is reported) suddenly fell down dead. The Pulpits were likewise bedewed with unshed Tears; and some of those to whom the living *King* was for Episcopacie's sake less acceptable, yet now bewailed the loss of Him when dead. Children (who usually seem unconcerned in publick Calamities) were also affected with the news, and became so prodigal of their Tears, that for some time they refused comfort; even some of those who sat as Judges could not forbear to mingle some Tears with His Blood when it was spilt. Many composed Elegies and serious Poems to preserve the memory of His Vertues, to express their own Griefs, and to instruct the Mournings of others; and their Passions made them above their usual Strain more elegant. Many who writ the Acts of His time did vindicate His Honour, and divulged the base Arts of His Enemies, even while their Power was dreadful.

Men of all Sorts, Degrees and Sects (there being none among which He had not some Admirers) then freely and without Envy recounted His several Vertues, which now appeared as great as Mortality refined by Indus-

stry was capable of. For *though Prosperity makes the Severest tryals of Vertues, yet Adversity renders them most Orient.* As the night best acquaints us with the Splendor of the Stars.

That which first challenged their Wonder, was the Composure and Inclination of His Soul to Religion, which He used not as an Artifice of Empire, but as the Ornament and Comfort of a private breast; for He never affected a Magnifick Piety nor a Pompous Vertue, but laboured to approve Himself in secret to that God who rewardeth openly. All His Offices in this were, like His Fortune, far above those of other men; His Devotion in Prayer was so raised, that His Soul seemed to be wholly swallowed up in the Contemplation of that Majesty He did adore, and as in an Ecstasie to have left His senses without its Adstency. An instance of this was given at the Death of the Duke of Buckingham, the news of whose Murther being whispered to the King while He was at Prayers, He took no notice of it (although it was so weighty an Occurrence to have His prime Minister cut off in the busie Preparations for a great Design) till He had finished His Addresses to Heaven, and His Spirit was dismissed from the Throne of Grace to at-

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tend the Cares of that on Earth. This was so clear an Evidence of a most fixed Devotion, that those who built their Hopes upon His Reproaches, slanderously imputed it to a secret Pleasure in the fall of him whose Greatness was now terrible to the Family that raised it; which both His Majesties care of the Duke's Children afterwards, as also the Consideration of His Condition, did evince to be false, and that the *King* neither hated him, nor needed to fear him whom He could have ruined with a Frown, and have obliged the People by permitting their fury to pass upon him.

Besides, His Majesty's constant Diligence in those Duties did demonstrate, that nothing but a Principle of Holiness, which is always uniform, both moved and assisted Him in those sacred Performances, to which He was observed to go with an exceeding Alacrity as to a ravishing pleasure, from which no lesser Pleasures nor Business were strong enough for a Diversion. In the morning before He went to *Hunting* (His beloved Sport) the Chaplains were before Day call'd to their Ministry: and when He was at *Brainford* among the Noise of Arms, and near the Assaults of His Enemies, He caused the Divine that then waited to perform his accustomed Service, before He provided for Safety, or attempted

attempted at Victory; and would first gain upon the Love of Heaven, and then afterwards repel the Malice of men. Those that were appointed by the Parliament to attend Him in His Restraints wondred at His constant Devotions in His Closet; and no Artifice of the Army was so likely to abuse Him to a Credulity of their good Intentions, as the Permission of the Ministry of His Chaplains in the Worship of God, a mercy He valued, to some of His Servants, above that of enjoying Wife and Children.

At Sermons He carried Himself with such a Reverence and Attention (that His Enemies which hated, yet did even admire Him in it,) as if He were expecting new Instructions for Government from that God whose Deputy He was, or a new Charter for a larger Empire: and He was so careful not to neglect any of those Exercises, that if on Tuesday mornings, on which Days there used to be Sermons at Court, He were at any distance from thence, He would ride hard to be present at the beginnings of them.

When the State of His Soul required, He was as ready to perform those more severe parts of Religion which seem most distastful to Flesh and Blood. And he never refused to take to Himself the shame of those acts wherein

wherein He had transgressed, that He might give Glory to His God. For after the Army had forced Him from *Holmeby*, and in their several removes had brought Him to *Latmos*, an house of the Earl of *Devonshire*, on Aug. 1. being Sunday, in the morning before Sermon He led forth with Him into the Garden the Reverend Dr. *Sheldon* (who then attended on Him, and whom He was pleased to use as His Confessor) and drawing out of His Pocket a Paper, commanded him to read it, transcribe it, and so to deliver it to Him again. This Paper contained several Vows, which He had obliged His Soul unto for the Glory of His Maker, the advance of true Piety, and the emolument of the Church. And among them this was one, that *He would do Publick Penance for the Injustice He had suffered to be done to the Earl of Strafford, His consent to those Injuries that were done to the Church of England (though at that time He had yielded to no more than the taking away of the High Commission, and the Bishops power to Vote in Parliament) and to the Church of Scotland: and adjured the Doctor, that if ever he saw Him in a Condition to observe that or any of those Vows, he should solicitously mind Him of the Obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach should lie upon his own Soul.* This voluntary submission to the Laws of Christianity exceeded that so memorable

humiliation of the good Emperour *Theodosius*, for he never bewailed the blood of those seven thousand men which in three hours space he caused to be spilt at *Theffalonica*, till the resolution of *S. Ambrose* made him sensible of the Crime. But the Piety of King *Charles* anticipated the severity of a Confessor for those offences to which He had been precipitated by the Violence of others.

This Zeal and Piety proceeded from the Dedication of His whole Soul to the Honour of His God, for *Religion* was as Imperial in the Intellectual as in the Affectionate Faculties of it. The Profession of the Church of *England* was His not so much by Education, as Choice, and He so well understood the Grounds of it, that He valued them above all other Pretensions to Truth, and was able to maintain it against all its Adversaries. His Discourse with *Henderson* shews how just a Reverence He had for the Authority of the Catholick Church, against the Pride and Ignorance of Schismatics; yet not to prostitute His Faith to the Adulterations of the Roman Infallibility and Traditions.

Nevertheless the most violent Slanders the Faction laboured to pollute Him with, were those that rendred Him inclinable to Popery. From which He was so averse, that He could
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not forbear in His indearments to the *Queen*, (when He committed a secret to Her Breast which He would not trust to any other, and when He admired and applauded Her affectionate Cares for His Honour and Safety) in a Letter, which He thought no Eye but Hers should have perused, to let Her know that He still differ'd from Her in Religion; for He says, *It is the only thing of Difference in Opinion betwixt Us*. Malice made the Slanderers blind, and they published this Letter to the World, than which there could not be a greater Evidence imaginable of the *King's* most secret Thoughts, and Inward Sincerity, nor a more shameful Conviction of their Impudence and damnable Falshood. Nor did He only tell the *Queen* so, but He made Her see it in His Actions. For as soon as His Children were born, it was His first Care to prevent the Satisfaction of their Mother in baptizing them after the Rites of Her own Church. When He was to Die, a time most seasonable to speak Truth, especially by Him who all His Life knew not how to Dissemble, He declares His Profession in Religion to be the same with that which He found left by His Father King *James*.

How little the Papists credited what the Faction would have the World believe, was too

too evident by the Conspiracies of their *Fathers* against His Life and Honour, which the Discovery of *Habernesfeld* (to whose relations the following practices against Him and the Church of *England* gained a belief) brought to light. They were mingled likewise among the Conspirators, and both heated and directed their Fury against Him. They were as importunate in their Calumnies of Him, even after His Death, as were the vilest of the Sectaries; which they had never done, could they have imagined Him to be theirs; for His Blood would in their Calendar have out-shined the Multitude of their fictitious Saints. For His sake they continued their hatred to His Family, abetted the Usurpations of the following Tyrant, by imposing upon the World new *Rules of Obedience and Government*, invented fresh Calumnies for the Son, and obstructed by various Methods His return to the Principality, because He was Heir as well of the Faith as of the Throne of His Father. Although this Honour is not to be denied to many Gallant Persons of that perswasion, that their Loyalty was not so corrupted by their Faith to *Rome*, but that they laboured to prevent the Father's Overthrow, and to hasten the Son's Restitution.

He was not satisfied in being Religious as
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a particular Christian, but would be so as a King, and endeavour'd that Piety might be as Universal as His Empire. This He assaid by giving Ornaments and Assistances to the External Exercise and Parts of it, (which is the proper Province of a Magistrate, whose Power reaches but to the Outward man) that so carnal minds if they were not brought to an Obedience, might yet to a Reverence, and if men would not honour, yet they should not despise Religion. This He did in taking Care for the Place of Worship, that Comeliness and Decency should be there conspicuous where the God of Order was to be adored. And it was a Royal Undertaking to restore *S. Paul's Church* to its primitive strength, and give it a beauty as magnificent as its Structure. He taught men not to condemn the Dispensers of the Gospel, because He had so great an esteem for them, admitting some to His nearest Confidence and most Private Counsels, as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the greatest Place of Trust, as the Bishop of *London* to the Treasury: consulting at once the Emolument of Religion, whose Dictates are more powerfully impressed when the Minister is honoured by the Magistrate; and the Benefit of the State, which wise Princes had before found none to seek more faithfully, if any did more prudently, than Church-men.

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Though a Voluntary Poverty did much contribute to the lustre and increase of the Church in the Purer times, yet a necessitated would have destroyed it in a Corrupt age; therefore the *King*, to obstruct all access of Ruine that way, secured her Patrimony, and recovered as much as He could out of the Jaws of Sacrilege, which together with time had devoured a great part of it. His endeavours this way were so strong, that the Faction in *Scotland* found no Artifice able to divert them but by kindling the flame of a Civil War; the Criminals there seeking to adjust their Sacrilegious Acquisitions by Rebellious practices, and to destroy that Church by force which His Majesty would not suffer them to torture with Famine. In *Ireland* the Lord Lieutenant *Wentworth*, by His Command and Instructions, retrieved very great Possessions, which the tumults of that Nation had advantaged many greedy Persons to seize upon, and would not suffer Sedition to be encouraged with the hopes of Impiety. In *England* He countenanced those just Pleas which Oppressed Incumbents entred against Rapacious Patrons; and this way many Curates were put into a Condition of giving Hospitality, who before were contemptible in their Ministry, because they were so in their Fortune. His Enemies knew how Invi-
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able was the Faith of His Majesty in this, and therefore pressed Him with nothing more to obstruct Peace than the Alienation of Church-Lands, rather than which He did abandon His Life, and parted sooner with His Blood than them. He used to say, *Though I am sensible enough of the Dangers that attend My Care of the Church, yet I am resolved to defend it or make it My Tomb-stone,* (alluding to a Story which He would tell of a Generous Captain, that said so of a Castle that was committed to His trust.) He had so perfect a Detestation of that Crime, that it is said He scarce ever mentioned *Henry the 8.* without an Abhorrency of His Sacrilege. He neglected the Advices of His own Party, if they were negligent of the Welfare of the Church.

Those Concessions He had made in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the Church there, were the subject of His grief and penitential Confessions both before God (as appears in His Prayers) and men. For when the Reverend Dr. *Morley*, now Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, (whom He had sent for to the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, where he employed his diligence and prudence to search into the Intrigues and Reserves of the Commissioners) had acquainted Him how the Commissioners were the more pertinacious for the abolishing
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of Episcopacy here, because His Majesty had consented to it in Scotland, and withall told Him what answer he himself had made to them, That perchance the King was abused to those grants by a misinformation that that Act which was made in King James's Minority against Bishops was yet unrepealed, and that His Concession would but leave them where the Law had; The King Answered, It is true, I was told so, but whenever you hear that urged again, give them this answer, and say, that you had it from the King Himself; That when I did that in Scotland, I sinned against My Conscience, and that I have often repented of it, and hope that God hath forgiven Me that great Sin, and by God's grace for no Consideration in the World will I ever do so again.

He was careful of Uniformity, both because He knew the Power of Just and Lawful Princes consisted in the Union of their Subjects, who never are cemented stronger than by a Unity in Religion; but Tyrants, who measure their greatness by the weakness of their Vassals, work that most effectually by caressing Schisms, and giving a Licence to different Perswasions (as the Usurpers afterwards did :) Besides, He saw there was no greater Impediment to a sincere Piety, because that Time and those Parts which might improve Godliness to a Growth, were all Wasted and
Corrupted

Corrupted in Malice and Slanders betwixt the Dissenters about forms. He was more tender in preserving the Truths of Christianity than the Rights of His Throne. For when the Commissioners of the Two Houses in the *Ile of Wight* importunately pressed Him for a Confirmation of the *Lesser Catechism* which the *Assembly at Westminster* had composed, and used this motive, because it was a small matter; He answered, *Though it seem to you a small thing, it is not so to Me: I had rather give you one of the Flowers of My Crown, than permit your Children to be corrupted in the least point of their Religion.* Thus though He could not infuse Spiritual Graces into the minds of His Subjects, yet He would manage their Reason by Pious Arts; and what the *Example of a King* (which through the Corruptions of men is more efficacious to *Impiety* than to *Vertue*) could not do, that His Law should, and He would restrain those Vices which He could not extirpate.

Religion was never used by Him to veil Injustice; for this was peculiar to His Adversaries, who when they *His Justice* were plotting such acts as Hell would blush at, they would fawn and smile on Heaven; and they used it as those subtle Surprisers in War, who wear their Enemies Colours till they be admitted to

to butcher them within their own Fortresses. But His Majesty consulted the Peace of His Conscience not only in Piety to God, but also in Justice to Men. He was, as a Magistrate should be, a speaking Law. It was His usual saying, *Let Me stand or fall by My own Counsels.* I will ever, with Job, rather chuse Misery than Sin. He first submitted His Counsels to the Censure of the Lawyers before they were brought forth to Execution. Those Acts of which the Faction made most noise, were delivered by the Judges to be within the Sphere of the Prerogative. The causes of the Revenue were as freely debated as private Pleas, and sometimes decreed to be not good; which can never happen under a bad Prince. The Justice of His Times shewed that of His Breast, wherein the Laws were feared and not Men. None were forced to purchase their Liberty with the diminution of their Estates, or the loss of their Credit. Every one had both security and safety for His Life, Fortune, and Dignity; and it was not then thought, as afterwards, to be a part of Wisdom to provide against Dangers by obscurity and Privacies. His Favours in bestowing Great Offices never secured the Receivers from the force of the Law, but Equity overcame His Indulgences. For He knew that *Unjust Princes become Odious to them that made them so.* He submitted the Lord Keeper Coventrey to an Examination

tion when a querulous person had accused him of Bribery. He sharply reprov'd one whom He had made Lord Treasurer, when he was petitioned against by an *Hampshire* Knight, on whose Estate, being held by Lease from the Crown, that Treasurer had a design; and He secured the Petitioner in his Right. The greatest Officer of His Court did not dare to do any the least of those injuries which the most Contemptible Member of the House of Commons would with a daily Insolency act upon His weaker Neighbour. In the Civil Discords He bewailed nothing more, than that the Sword of Justice could not correct the illegal Furies of that of War. Though by His Concessions and Grants He diminished His Power, yet He thought it a Compensation, to let the World see He was willing to make it impossible for Monarchy to have an unjust Instrument, and to secure Posterity from Evil Kings. Although He proved to a Leading Lord of the Faction, *That a People being too cautious to bind their King by Laws from doing Ill, do likewise fetter Him from doing Good, and their fears of Mischief do destroy their hopes of Benefit. And that such is the weakness of Humanity, that he which is intrusted only to Good, may pervert that Power to the extremest Ills.* And indeed there is no security for a Community to feel nothing in Government be-

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sides the Advantages of it, but in the Benignity of Providence, and the Justice of the Prince, both which we enjoyed while we enjoyed Him.

Though He was thus in Love with Justice, yet He suffered not that to lessen His Clemency. His Nature to Severity and Rigour, but tempered it with Clemency, especially when His Goodness could possibly find out such an Interpretation for the Offence, that it struck more at His Peculiar than the Publick Interest. He seemed almost stupid in the Opinion of Cholerick Spirits as to a sense of His own Injuries, when there was no fear lest His Mercy should thereby increase the Miseries of His People. And He was so ambitious of the Glory of Moderation, that He would acquire it in despite of the Malignity of the times. For the Exercise of this Vertue depends not only on the temper of the Prince, but the frame of the People must contribute to it; because when the Reverence of Majesty and fear of the Laws are proscribed, sharper Methods are required to form Obedience. Yet He was unwilling to cut off, till He had tried by Mercy to amend, even guilty Souls. Thus He strove to oblige the Lord Balmerino to peaceful practices, by continuing that Life which had been employed in Sedition, and forfeited to the Law.

Soon

Soon after His coming into the Isle of Wight (by which time He had experienced the numerous Frauds and implacable Malice of His Enemies) being attended on by Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond (for they were the earliest in their Duties at that time) a Discourse passed betwixt His Majesty and the Governour, wherein there was mention made of the fears of the Faction that the King could never forgive them. To which the King immediately replies, *I tell thee, Governour, I can forgive them with as good an appetite as ever I eat My Dinner after an hunting, and that I assure you was not a small one; yet I will not make My self a better Christian than I am, for I think if they were Kings I could not do it so easily.* This shewed how prone His Soul was to Mercy, and found not any obstruction but what arose from a sense of Royal Magnanimity.

He sooner offered and gave life to His captive Enemies than their Spirits debauched by Rebellion would require it, and He was sparing of that blood of which their fury made them Prodigal. No man fell in battel whom He could save. He chose rather to enjoy any Victory by Peace (and therefore continually solicited for it when He seemed least to need it) than make one triumph a step to

another; and though He was passionate to put all in Safety, yet He affected rather to end the War by Treaty than by Conquest. The Prisoners He took He used like deluded men, and oftner remembred that God had made them His Subjects, than that the Faction had transformed them to Rebels. He provided for them while in His Power, and not to let them languish in Prison, sent them by Passes to their own homes, only ingaging them by Oath to no more injuries against that Sovereign whom they had felt to be Gracious: for so He used those that were taken at *Brainford*. But yet the Casuist of the Cause would soon dispense with their Faith, and send them forth to die in contracting a new guilt. Those whom the fury of War had left gasping in the Field, and fainting under their wounds, He commends in His Warrants, (as in that to the Mayor of *Newbury*) to the care of the Neighbourhood, either tenderly to recover, or decently bury: and His Commands were as well for those that sought to murder Him as those that were wounded in His Defence.

This made the Impudence and Falshood of *Bradshaw* more portentous, when in his Speech of the Assassination he belch'd out those Comparisons of *Caligula* and *Nero*: the first would kill numbers of Senators to make

make himself Sport, and the last thought it just enough that *Petius Thraseas* should die, because he look'd like a School-master. But this Prince's Anger was without Danger to any, His Admonitions were frequent, Corrections seldom, but Revenge never. He grieved when His Pity had not Power or Skill to save Offenders, and then He punished the bad, but yet gave them space to repent, and make their Execution as near as He could like a natural Death, to translate them from hence to a place where they could not Sin. He had nothing of the *Beast* in Him, which *Machiavel* requires in such Princes as make Success the only end of their Counsels, and consult a prosperous Grandeur more than an unspotted Conscience. He scorned to abuse the Character of God upon Him by turning a *Fox* to dissemble, and abhorred to think that He whom Heaven had made above other men should degenerate to the Cruelty of a *Lyon*. He sooner parted with Mortality than Mercy; for He ended His days with a Prayer for His Enemies, and laboured to make His Clemency immortal, by commanding the practice of it to His Son.

None of His Vertues were in the Confines of Vice, and therefore this Admirable Clemency proceeded not from a defect of Spirit, as His De-

His Fortitude.

traitors imputed it, and the *Vulgar*, who mistake Cruelty for Valour, imagined; but like the Bowels of the Supremest Mercy which are incircled with an Infinite Power, so this Pity to guilty and frail men was attended with an Incomparable *Fortitude*. For this Vertue consisting in despising Dangers and Enemies in those Causes that render Death comely and glorious, the King gave several Evidences of a Contempt of all Power beneath that of Heaven. When the Lord Ray first acquainted Him with the Conspiracy of *Ramsay* and *Hamilton*, He was upon a Remove to *Theobalds*, where the Marquis was to wait upon Him as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who having some notice given him of the Discovery, besought His Majesty to spare his attendance till he could clear his innocence, and return the Treason upon the Accuser. The King answered, that He would therefore make him wait, to let him see He did as little fear his strength as distrust his Loyalty; for He knew he durst not attempt His Life because He was resolved to sell it so dear. And to make good His Confidence, He made him ride alone with Him in His Coach to *Theobalds*, and lie in His Chamber that Night: while the solicitous Court admired, and even censured, His Magnanimity, for it went beyond His pattern, and did more than that Emperour who

was stiled the *Delight of Mankind*, who being informed of a Conspiracy against him, invited the two Chiefs of it to accompany him to the *Speculula*, and caused them both to sit next on each side to him in the Theatre; and to give them more advantage for their design, put the swords of the *Gladiators* (under colour of enquiring their judgments concerning their sharpness) into their hands, to shew how little dread he had of their fury. But the *British Prince's* Magnanimity exceeded that of the Excellent *Roman's*, as much as the privacies of a Bed-Chamber, and the darkness of Night make up a sifter Scene for the Assassination of a beloved Sovereign than a publick Theatre.

As He never provoked War, so He never feared it; and when the miserable Necessity lay upon Him to take up Arms to preserve Himself from an unjust Violence, He shewed as much if not more Valour than those can boast of that with equal force finished Wars with Conquest: in the success of these, Fortune, the Vanity of an Enemy, and the assistances of Friends may challenge a part of the Praise, but in that none but His own brave Soul had the Glory. For to attempt at Victory against an Enemy that had almost more Forts and Garrisons than He had Families to joyn with Him, that with Cannon

out-vied the Number of his Muskets, that had gotten from Him a Navy which His Care had made the most formidable in the World, and not left Him the command of a Cock-boat, that were prodigal with the Treasure of a Nation and His Revenues, when He begged for a subsistence; was such a Courage that would have made that Senate of Gallant Persons, who were the most competent Judges of Valour, and never censured Vertue by the Success, but thanked their Imprudent Consul for not despairing of the Commonwealth, when he gathered up those broken Legions which his Rashness had obtruded to an Overthrow, to have decreed a Triumph for CHARLES, had His life been an Honour to that Age, or could those Generations have reckoned Him among their great Examples. Most men indeed thought the King's side most glorious, yet they concluded the other more terrible: those that minded their Duty were in the Royal Camp, but such as cared for Safety took part with the Faction, or at least did not oppose them. As He first entred the War, so did He continue in it. His Moderation always moved Him to desire Peace, and His Fortitude made them sometimes sue for it. His Adversaries never prevailed upon His Fears, but upon the Treachery and Covetousness of some of His Party, who could

not

not endure an Honourable Want: and on such their Gold was stronger than their Iron on Him, and He was rather Betrayed than Overcome.

His Greatness of Mind forsook Him not with His Fortune, Arms and Liberty, it being Natural, and not built upon them; this made Him tenacious of Majesty when His Power was gone. For when *Whaley*, that had the Command of the Guards upon Him while He was in the Army, insolently intruded into His Presence to hear His Discourse with a Foreign Minister of State, and being bold in his Power and Office, refused to obey the Command for a greater Distance, the *King* caned him to an Observance. When the Parricides sent their party of Soldiers to force Him from the *Isle of Wight* to the Slaughter, *Cobbet* that commanded them thrust himself into the Coach with Him: but the *King* sensible that the nearness of such a Villain was like a Contagion to Majesty, with His Hand forced him away to herd among his bloody fellows. His Spirit always kept above the barbarous Malice of His Enemies, and of their rudest Injuries would seem unsensible. He told a faithful Servant of His, that the Conspirators had kept Him for two Months under a want of Linen and Shirts: *But (said He) I scorned to give*

give them that pleasure as to tell them I wanted. Thus all the strokes of Fortune upon His Magnanimous Soul were but like the breaking of Waves upon a Rock of Diamonds, which cannot shake, but only wash it to a greater Brightness.

But though He knew not how
His Pa- to submit to the Power of Men,
tience. yet He would tremble under the
 Frowns of God. His great Spirit
 made Him not unquiet or furious under the
 Corrections of the Almighty: But with a wonderful *Patience* (*a Vertue not usual with Kings, to whom the bounds of Equity seem a restraint, and therefore are more restless in Injuries*) He did submit to the Will of His eternal Sovereign. He never murmured nor repined at that Providence which had given Him plenty of tears to drink: But His Meditations still breath'd the Justice of God and the Holiness of all His ways with Him. He would take Occasions from displeasing Occurrences to thank God that had fitted Him for the Condition he had brought Him unto. For when He marched after His Carriage in pursuit of *Essex* into the West, one of them broke in a very narrow Lane, which made Him stop till an intolerable Showre of Rain came pouring upon Him; from which that He might seek for a Shelter in the Neighbouring Village, His
 Courtiers

Courtiers offered to hew Him out a way through the Hedge with their Swords, but He refused: and when they wondred at it, He lifting up His hat and Eyes to worship the Fountain of All Grace, said, *As God hath given me Afflictions to exercise My Patience, so He hath given me Patience to bear My Afflictions.* The Indignity He received from *Hotham* provoked no Curse from Him, nor could the Injuries from *Scotch* and *English* move Him to any thing more than Prayers for God's sanctifying them to Him. He wanted not Temptations to Passion from His own Party; for in a Letter to the *Queen*, He tells Her that She could not but Pity Him in His Condition as to them: yet He so managed their several Humours, and so cherished their Expectations with Patience and Meekness, that they quietly waited for a return of His Fortune.

When He was in His Captivity at *Carisbrook* under the strictest Restraint, those that attended Him never almost observed Him but chearful and pleasant in His Discourses, and sometimes breaking out into pleasing Reparties and Jest. When in the Treaty at *Newport*, (where He had occasions of Passion daily administred by the Perverseness to Peace of the Party He was to deal with) one of the Commissioners was importunate with

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with Him for more Concessions and minded Him of His saying, *That if there were another Treaty, it should not lie in the power of the Devil's Malice to hinder Peace:* the King answered, *It would be so when there was a Treaty, but as for this it could not be thought a Treaty, but He was like the man in the Play, that cryed out he had been in a Fray, and when they asked him what Fray, he replied there was a Fray and no Fray, for there were but three blows given, and he took them all:* So this is a Treaty and not a Treaty, for there be many Concessions, but I have made them all. Another time, when He met one of the Presbyterian Ministers near His Chamber enquiring for Captain Titus, (who then waited on Him, and had been faithful to Him in that Service) the King told him, *He wondred he would have any more to do either with Titus or Timothy, since he fared so ill in meddling with them in his Disputes about Episcopacy the day before.* These shewed how free His Soul was, and uncontrolled in the greatest and most displeasing perplexities.

He would never take any indirect courses to avoid the Cross, nay, He scrupled at such expedients as some deemed most conducing to His great end. For at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight there being offered to Him an expedient, to secure His Conscience
and

and satisfie the Commissioners in the Propositions about the Church, and it being urged by a great and faithful Counsellour, that He must grant what possibly he could to preserve His own Life for the good of the Church, for (it was said) her safety depended on His; with a present and pious indignation He replied, *Tell not Me what I should do for saving of My Life, but what I may do with a safe Conscience: God forbid that the Life or Safety of the Church should depend upon My Life, or upon the Life of any mortal man; and I thank God I have a Son whom I have reason to believe will love the Church as well as I do.* Another time, a little after the Treaty was ended, Dr. Morley shewing to Him a billet he had received by the Lady Wheeler the King's Laundress (who often conveyed much Intelligence) from an Officer of the Army, that the King's Death was resolved on; His Majesty answered, *I have done what I can to save My Life without losing of my Soul. I can do, I will do no more: God's will be done.*

In the Pomp of His Murther, wherein He was made a Spectacle to the World, Angels and Men, no Tryals were ever greater, nor ever were any better born: the Parricides found it was easie to take away His Life, but impossible His Honour and Patience; His
 Passions

Passions being then so low and quiet, that the natural Infirmary of His Speech did not in the least measure appear, which uses to be most evident in the smallest discomposure of the Spirit. After the Regicides had passed their Decree for His Assassination, and caused Him to be persecuted with all the Indignities of the fanatic Souldiers, there fell from Him nothing like Passion or Indignation, but that He gave the Authors of those Impieties the title that was due to them: for when my Lord of London came to Him, (which was not till eight a Clock on Saturday Night,) He told him, *My Lord, that you came no sooner I believe was not your fault; but now you are come, because these Rogues pursue My Blood, you and I must consult how I may best part with it.* Yet even this was spoken without any Fury or Violence; for though all about Him was tumultuous with Horror, Destruction and Contempt, His Soul seemed unconcerned, enjoyed a Calm Serenity, and was full of its own Majesty. This Vertue made Him forget He was a Prince born to Command, and only consider that He was a Christian whose Calling obliges to Suffer.

He had found out a way to Glory by His Humility. *For the supreme Power, to which nothing can be added,*

hath

but no better way to encrease, than when secured of its own Greatness it humbleth it self. And the Dignity of Princes is in nothing farther from Envy and Danger than in Humility. He despised the converse of none, though poor, if honest: He shewed to Sir Philip Warwick (who had much of His Trust and Affections) in the Isle of Wight, a poor ragged Old Man, and told him *he was a very honest fellow, and had been His best Company for two months together.* He would have those about Him converse rather with Himself than with His Majesty, and with them would He mingle Discourses as One of the People: none made an end of speaking till His own Modesty, not Pride in the King, thought it was enough; and He never did contradict any man without this mollifying Preface, *By your favour, Sir.* His discourse as it was familiar, so it was directed to raise those that heard it to a nearer approach to Himself by perfection; for He did not proudly scoff at, but gently laboured to mend the defects of His Subjects. When Doctor Hammond had in some degree lost the Manage of His Voice, His Majesty shewed him his Infirmary, and taught him to amend it; which that Excellent Person often mentioned as an instance of a Gracious Condescension of Majesty. When Noble Youths came to take their leaves of Him before they went to foreign travel,

travel, He would not let them go without His Instructions, of which this was one, *My Lord, Keep alwayes the best Company, and be sure never to be Idle.* Thus He would confer the Vertues as well as the Titles of Nobility, He laboured to keep them as Majesty had made them, and that that blood might not be tainted in them which was honoured in their Ancestors. Nor did He desire that they should be otherwise than He directed, as *Tyrants and weak Princes will commend those Vertues which they are afraid of, for they dread or envy their Subjects Parts and Abilities.* Aristotle observes that a Tyrant cares not to hear his Vassals speak any thing that is either Grave or Generous; and it is reckoned among the Usurpations of such Monsters, that they would have the opinion to be the Only Wise and Gallant. Plato indangered his Life when he conversed with the *Sicilian Tyrant*, because he was thought to understand more than his Host. It was observed of *Cromwell*, (by one of his confident Teachers) that in the time of his Tyranny he loved no man that spoke Sense, and had several Artificers to disparage it among his Slaves that attended him; and he would highly extol those Pulpit-Speakers that had most Canting and least Reason. But the King thought it the Honour of Principality to rule over Excellent Persons, and affected to be Great only

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by being Better ; and to raise their Spirits would stoop with His own.

Of these He always chose the most accomplished that He knew, to be His Ministers of State and closest Confidants: for as *the fortune of Princes stands in need of many Friends, which are the surest supports of Empire* ; so He would always seek the Best, and those He thought fittest for His Employments, which a bad or weak King would hate or fear. Therefore He had always the finest Pens and ablest Heads in His Cause, and Persons likewise of Integrity in His Service : for the *Archbishop* and Earl of *Strafford*, that were clamoured against as the greatest Criminals, were not guilty enough, even by those accusations which they were loaded with, and yet not proved, to receive the Censure of the Law, but were to be condemned in an unaccustomed way of spilling *English* blood. When some discovered their Abilities even by opposing His Counsels, He preferr'd the Publick Benefit which might be by their Endowments to His private Injuries ; He would either buy them off to His Service by some Place of Trust, or win them to His Friendship ; unless He saw them to be such whose Natures were corrupted by their Designs, (for He had a most
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excellent Sagacity in discerning the Spirits of men) or they were such who polluted their parts by prostituting Religion to some base ends (the injuries of which He could never neglect:) and such He neither conceived Honourable in a Court, nor hoped they would ever be faithful and quiet in a Community. Among these Purchases were reckoned the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Falkland*, and others now living, whose Perfections honoured His Judgment, and justified His Choice.

He had no Favorite, as a Minister of Pleasures, to gratifie whose Lusts
His Affection and Vanities He might be sol-
to His People. licited to do things contrary
 to the benefit of the Commu-
 nity; but all were Instruments of Govern-
 ment, and must be able to serve the Publick,
 whom He took to serve Himself. For no
 Prince was ever more affectionate of His
 People than He was, nor did He think His
 Interest separate from theirs. Those nice di-
 stinctions, and cautious limits of Prerogative
 and Liberty which the Faction invented to
 enjealous the People with, were all indi-
 stinctly comprised by Him in an Uniform and
 Constant care of a just Government: none
 dared to advise Him to attempt at a power
 His Predecessors had parted with, or the
 Laws

Laws had concluded Him from. For He told the Lords, when He purged the Earl of *Strafford* from the Accusation of Sir *Henry Vane*, (that he had advised His Majesty to make use of some *Irish* to reduce this Kingdom; on which, though it had but a single and various testimony, the Faction built their Practices against His Life) *I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move Me to it, for if they had, I should have made them such an Example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Posterity should know My Intentions by it.* For My Intention was ever to govern by the Law, and not otherwise. He thought He could not be happy unless His People were so; as we found our selves miserable when He was not prosperous. Therefore He parted with so much of His Prerogative to buy our Peace, and purchase our Content. He sought their Love by affecting them, the only way of gaining it, because that Passion only is free and impatient of Command. Nor was He ever more pleased than in the enjoyment of it: When His Third Parliament granted five Subsidies, and it was told Him that *there was not One Voice dissenting*, it is said, *He wept for joy*; and it had been happy for the People, if the King had always had such cause of Tears, and His Eyes had been always wet with the same.

Contests for Liberty could never have been more unseasonable than under this Prince, for He never denied His Subjects the removal of any just Grievance, yea, He parted sometimes, through their own importunity deluded by the Faction, with that which should have kept them Free: And when He made such Concessions which tended to the prejudice of those that desired it, He would say to some about Him, that *He would never have granted these things, but that He hoped they would see the Inconvenience of that power which they begg'd from Him, yet themselves could not manage, and return it to its proper place, before it became their Ruine.* He was far from the ambition of *Ill Princes* to seek an unlimited power; but He thought it the Office of the best Sovereign to set bounds to Liberty. He despised His Life if it were to be bought by the Misery of the Nation, and therefore rejected the Propositions of the Army as the Conditions of His Safety, when tendered to Him the day before His Murther, because they would enslave the People. Neither would He expose particular persons to an evident and inevitable danger, though it were to secure Himself: for when my Lord Newburgh and his Noble Lady, at whose house in Bagshot He did stay as He was removed from Carisbrook to Windsor, proposed

sed to Him a way to escape from that bloody Guard that hurried Him to the Slaughter, He rejected it, saying, *If I should get away, they would cut you in Pieces* ; and therefore would not try their design, though it seemed feasible.

With these Arts He did seek to oblige the Community ; but the Faction's Slanders hindred the Success: *His Obliging* which they the more easily obstructed, because the King never affected *Popularity*, for that *consists in an industrious pleasing of the People in minute and ordinary Circumstances* ; but He always endeavoured by a solid Vertue their real Happiness, and therefore in confidence of that neglected a specious Compliance with the less beneficial humours of the Vulgar : so that the *Multitude*, who are taken with things of the lightest consideration, could not sufficiently value Him, being not able to apprehend His worth : for a *Statist* observes, *Moderate Princes are always admired, but Heroick are never understood*. On particular Persons (if not the sworn Creatures of the Conspirators, and by Treason made inhumane) He seldom failed by conversing to take them. His *Trophies* in this kind, even when He was despoiled of means to bribe their hopes, were innumerable ; and those that engaged against Him ere they knew Him, after their knowledge of

Him did curse their Credulity and their prosperous Arms. A clear instance of this (to mention no more) was in Master *Vines*, one of the Presbyterian Ministers (who are conceived to be too tenacious of a prejudice against those that dislike their Government) that were sent to dispute against Episcopacy: for he admiring the Abilities of the *King* which He manifested in asserting of it, professed to Master *Burroughs*, (one whose Attendance the *King* required, and found him faithful to the extremest dangers in those enterprises in which he several times engaged for His Safety,) *how he had been deluded to unworthy thoughts of the King, but was now convinced to an exceeding Reverence of Him, and hoped so of others*; and earnestly solicited those that attended on Him, to use all means to rescue Him from the intended Vilany of the Army; saying, *Our Happiness was great in such a Prince; and our Misery in the Loss of Him would be unspeakable*. Yet He never courted, although He won them, but His passage to their hearts was through their brain, and they first Admired and then Loved Him.

As He was powerful to gain, so He was careful to keep Friends. *Fidelity*. His Fidelity. *lity* to the Publick and Private was His chiefest Care; for He knew

knew how necessary it is for Princes to be faithful, because it is so much their Interest that others should not be false. Though it is a Mystery of Empire with other Kings to proportion their Faith to their Advantage, yet He abhorred to promise any thing which He could not Religiously observe. Some oversine *Politici* would have had Him grant all the Desires of the Faction, as the most immediate way to their Ruine; for it was supposed they could never agree in dividing the Spoil, and their dissensions would have opened a way for the recovery of His abandoned Rights. But He was so constant in all that was good, that He thought the purchase of Greatness too vile for the breach of His Faith, and He hated those acquisitions which would give Him cause to blush. This Heroick Expression often fell from Him, *Leave me to My Conscience and Honour, and let what will befall Me.* His Enemies knew this so natural, that if they could make their Propositions repugnant to His Conscience, they were sure no Peace should obstruct their Designs. Nay, He was faithful in those Stipulations wherein their first Breach would have justified a departure from His Promise; though He saw this Vertue would be rewarded with His Murther. For when some of His Attendants at *Carisbrook* daily importuned Him to provide for His Safety from the perfidious Violence

lence of the Army, which every day they had informations of, He made this return; *Trouble not your selves, I have the Parliaments Faith and Honour engaged for My remaining here in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, and I will not dishonour My self by Escaping.*

As He was to the Publick so to His Private Obligations. No assaults could take the Duke of *Buckingham* from His Protection: for though His foreign Enterprises required supplies of Money, and the Faction would not let the Bills for Subsidies pass unless they might be gratified with the Dukes blood, or Degradation from His Trust, the *King* would not buy them with the Life or Dishonour of His Friend. And although he fell afterwards as a Sacrifice to the Common hate, (for so the Assassinate pretended, that he might give a Splendor to his Crime, *It being more specious to revenge the Publick than private Injuries*), yet was he not the *King's* Offering. In the Case of the Earl of *Strafford* this Honour seemed to be clouded: But Posterity will see that Noble Person was rather ravished from Him, (on design by his Enemies to rob him of the Glory of Fidelity,) than deserted by Him; for He never left him till the Earl did abandon himself. And a Penitence for a Submission (not Consent) to the Rape made a Satisfaction for the Offence, and repaired the damage

damage of the Injury. For His Majesties Tears over him will embalm and preserve his name and blood to the honour of Following Ages more than the remnant of his days would have administred to his Glory.

It would be an Injury to His other Vertues to mention His *Chastity* and *Temperance*, because it is an Injury to be otherwise ; unless to let Posterity know, that no injured Husband nor Dishonoured Family conspired to His Ruine, but such who were engaged to Him for preserving all their Rights in those Relations unattempted, and securing them by His own example. He witnessed His Con-jugal *Chastity* the day before His Death, (a time not to be spent in falsities, which was too little for necessary Preparations to appear before the God of Truth ;) when He commanded the Lady *Elizabeth* to tell her Mother, that *His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and His Love should be the same to the Last*. The purity of His Speech likewise testified the Cleanness of His Heart, for He did abhor all Obscene and wanton Discourse, And He was so far from defiling the Beds, that He would not pollute the Ears of His Subjects.

This *Chastity* found no Assaults from Intemperance,

His Temperance.

perance, for He never fed to Luxury but Health. His strong Constitution required large Meals, but His Vertue took care they should not be gluttonous; for He delighted not in Sawces or Artifices to please the Palate and raise the Lust, but all was sincere and solid, and therefore He never was subject to a Surfeit. He always mingled Water with His Wine, which He never drank pure but when He eat Venison; and He was so nice in observing the bounds of *Sobriety*, that most times Himself would measure and mingle both together. He did usually at every Meal drink one Glass of Beer, another of Wine, and a third of Water, and seldom drank between His Meals. These though Ordinary Vertues, were yet eminent in Him, since they could not be corrupted by the Power nor the Flatteries of Fortune. And they are therefore mentioned to gratifie Posterity; for *men are curious to know all, even the minute Passages of Great and Vertuous Persons.*

Being free from Incontinency and Intemperance, the gulphs of Treasure and Drainers of the Largest Exchequer, He had no other Vice to exhaust the Publick Stock, and so necessitate Him to fill it up by Oppressions, but He would by *Frugality* make His Revenue

Revenue sufficient for the Majesty of the Crown, and the Necessities of the State. His own Nature indeed inclined Him to Magnificence, but the Vices of others did instruct Him to moderate Expences. For He had found the Treasury low, and the Debts great, in His beginnings: He was assaulted with two expensive Wars from the two great Potentates of *Europe*, and the Faction had obstructed the usual way of Supplies by Parliaments. Therefore He was to find a Mine in Vertue; and by sparing from Vanities, make provisions for necessary and glorious Enterprises, which He did effect: for in that short time of Peace, which He enjoyed, He satisfied all the Publick Debts, so furnished and increased His Navy, that it was the most considerable in the whole World, supported His Confederate the King of *Sweden*, and by Money inabled him for the Victories of *Germany*, and so fill'd His own Treasury, that it was able of it self to bear the weight of the first *Scotch* Expedition without the Aids of the Subject, who were never more able to contribute to their own safety, nor ever had more reason, the swellings of that Nation breaking all the Banks and Fences of their Liberty and Happiness. But the *King* would let them see that as by His Government He had made them rich, He would also keep them so by His Frugality. But those whose
first

first care was to make Him necessitous, and the next odious, did brand it with the name of Covetousness, which was as False as malicious ; For He never spared when Just Designs call'd for Expences, and was magnificent in Noble Undertakings, as in the Repair of *Paul's*. He was always Grateful, although those men who measured their Services not by their Duties, or their Merits, but by their Expectations from His Fortune, thought Him not Liberal. He chose rather not to burthen His People by Subsidies, than load particular Servants with unequal Bounties. For Good *Princes chuse to be loved rather for their Benefits to the Community than for those to private persons. And it may be Vanity and Ostentation, but not Liberality, when the gifts of the Prince are not proportioned to the Common Necessity.* His sparing was like those of Indulgent Fathers, that His Subjects as Children might have the more. He never, like subtle and rapacious Kings, made or pretended a Necessity for Taxes, but was troubled when He found it. The Contributions of Parliament He esteemed not the increase of His peculiar Treasure, but the Provisions for the Common Safety, of which He would rather be accounted a Steward than a Lord. When Faction and Sedition so deluded the People that they could not see the preservation of the whole consisted in contributing some small

part,

part, He freely parted with His own Inheritance to preserve intire to them the price of their Sweat and Labour.

As He had these Moral Vertues, which are both the signatures of Majesty, and the Ornaments of a Royal Spirit, so He was no less compleat in the Intellectual. His Understanding was as Comprehensive as His Just Power, and He was Master of more sorts of Knowledge than He was of Nations. How much He knew of the Mysteries and Controversies of Divinity was evident in His Discourses and Papers with *Henderson*, and those at the *Isle of Wight*, where He singly Disputed for *Episcopacy* one whole day against Fifteen Commissioners and their Four Chaplains, (the most experienced and subtle members of all the Opposite Party) with so much Acuteness and Felicity, that even His Opposers admired Him. He so dexterously managed His Discourse with the Ministers, that He made it evident they perswaded Him to that which they themselves judged unlawful, and had condemned as Sacrilege, when they pretended to satisfy the Scruples of His Conscience, and to assure Him He might safely alienate the Church-Lands. And the Commissioners sensible how unequal their Ministers were to discourse with Him, for
ever

ever after silenced them, and permitted no Disputes but by Papers. At that time He exceeded the opinion of His friends about Him. One of them said in astonishment, that *Certainly God had inspired Him*. Another, that *His Majesty was to a Wonder improved by His Privacies and Afflictions*. But a third, that had had the Honour of a nearer Service, assured them that the *King was never less, only He had now the opportunity of appearing in His full Magnitude*.

In the Law of the Land He was as knowing (as Himself said to the Parricides, yet was no boaster of His own Parts) as any Gentleman in *England*, who did not profess the Publick Practice of it : especially those Parts of it which concerned the Commerce between *King* and People. In that Art which is peculiar to Princes, *Reason of State*, He knew as much as the most prosperous Contemporary *Kings*, or their most exercised Ministers, yet scorned to follow those Rules of it which lead from the Paths of Justice. The Reserves that other Princes used in their Leagues and Contracts, to colour the breaches of Faith, and those inglorious and dark Intrigues of subtle Politicians, He did perfectly abhor : but His Letters, Declarations, Speeches, Meditations, are full of that Political Wisdom which is consistent with Christianity.

Christianity. He had so quick an Insight into these Mysteries, and so early arrived to the Knowledge of it, that when He was young, and had just gotten out of the Court and Power of *Spain*, He censured the weakness of that Mysterious Council. For He was no sooner on Shipboard, but the first words He spake were, *I discovered two Errors in those great Masters of Policy; One that they would use Me so Ill, and another that after such Usage they permitted Me to Depart.*

As those former parts of Knowledge did enable Him to know *Men*, and how to manage their different *His Skill in* humours, and to temper them *all Arts.* to a fitness for Society, and make them serviceable to the Glory of that God whose Minister He was: so His Soul was stored with a full Knowledge of the Nature of *Things*, and easily comprehended almost all kinds of Arts that either were for Delight or of a Publick Use; for He was ignorant of nothing but of what He thought it became Him to be negligent, (for many parts of Learning that are for the Ornament of a Private person are beneath the Cares of a Crowned Head.) He was well skilled in things of Antiquity, could judge of Meddals whether they had the number of years they pretended unto; His Libraries and Cabinets were

were full of those things on which length of Time put the Value of Rarities. In Painting He had so excellent a Fancy, that He would supply the defect of Art in the Workman, and suddenly draw those Lines, give those Airs and Lights, which Experience and Practice had not taught the Painter. He could judge of Fortifications, and censure whether the Cannon were mounted to Execution or no. He had an excellent Skill in Guns; knew all that belonged to their making. The exactest Arts of building Ships for the most necessary uses of strength or good sailing, together with all their furniture, were not unknown to Him. He understood and was pleased with the making of Clocks and Watches. He comprehended the Art of Printing. There was not any one Gentleman of all the three Kingdoms that could compare with Him in an Universality of Knowledge. He encouraged all the Parts of Learning, and He delighted to talk with all kind of Artists, and with so great a Facility did apprehend the Mysteries of their Professions, that He did sometime say, *He thought He could get His Living, if Necessitated, by any Trade He knew of, but making of Hangings*: although of these He understood much, and was greatly delighted in them; for He brought some of the most curious Workmen from Foreign Parts to make them here in England.

His

His Writings shew what Notions He had gathered from the whole store of Learning, which He cloathed with a Wonderful and most charming *His Eloquence.* *Eloquence.* Which was unquestionably so great, that those who endeavoured to despoil Him of His Civil Dominions granted Him a deserved Empire among famous Writers. The Book of His Meditations is alone sufficient to make His Assassins execrable to all that in any Age shall have a sense of Piety, or a love to Wisdom and Eloquence. *For so great an affection in the Breasts of men do excellent Writings acquire for their Authors, that though they may be otherwise blameable, yet their Works render their Memories precious; and the violent Deaths of such increase their Glory, while they load their Murderers with Ignominy.* All men, especially among Posterity, deeming so great Wits could not be cut off but to the Publick Injury, and by Persons brutishly mad, or by some horrid sins debauched to an Enmity with mankind. So that all future times shall admire and applaud His Writings against them, and curse their Injustice to Him.

His Wisdom was not only Speculative in His Writings, but also Practi- *His Political Prudence.*
cal in His Counsels. None

T

found

found out better means for accomplishing a Design, provided safer expedients for the Resorts of Difficulties, or more clearly foresaw the Event at a Distance; nor were any Counsels so prosperous as His own, when they were vigorously prosecuted by those whom He intrusted with the Execution; and He seldom miscarried but when He inclined to follow the Advices of others; as He did in that inauspicious Attempt to take *Gloucester*, where in He forsook His own Reasons, which He urged with all possible Evidence of Success, to march towards *London*. He saw into the Intreagues of His Enemies; and had not the Treacheries (which being secret are above the Caution of Humane Nature) of some that followed Him opened to them His Designs, He had (by the Ordinary Course of Providence) covered them with the shame both of Imprudence and Overthrow. Those Miseries that the Faction after they got into Power brought upon the Nation, and the Events of their destructive Enterprises, were discovered and foretold by Him in the very beginnings to the deluded World, who notwithstanding were Fatally blinded to chuse their own Ruine.

Whensoever His Secretaries had drawn up, by the Direction of the *Council*, Declarations or any other Papers, and offered them to

His

His perusal, though both they and the Council had done their parts, yet He would always with His own hand correct them both as to Matter and Form; He commonly using these words when He took the Pen in His hand, *Come, I am a good Cobler*: and the Corrections were acknowledged by them all to be both for the greater lustre and advantage of the Writings. His Instructions to His Ambassadors, Commissioners, Deputies, were so full of Wisdom, and such prudent provisions for all the Ressorts of those they were to treat with, that there was nothing to be supplied on their parts to make their Negotiations happy, but seasonable Applications, or a fortune to deal with reasonable men. It was the Observation of a Noble Person (who was dear to Him for his Wisdom and Faithfulness, and was of His Council in all His Troubles) that *had the King been a Counsellor to any other Prince, He would have gained the Esteem of an Oracle*, all His Proposals being grounded upon the greatest Reason, and proper to the Business consulted about. Those that have been forward to interpret His Actions by the Success, and from thence have proceeded to the Censure of His Prudence, considered not the numerous Difficulties in forming any Resolution, nor the fallacious representations of Affairs to Him, but only looked upon His unprosperous Resolves according

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to the Fate of unhappy Counsels, which is to have that condemned, which was put in Execution, and that praised as best which was never tryed.

Thus was He made for Empire as well as born unto it; and had all *The Censure of* those Excellencies, which, if *His Fortune.* we had been free to chuse, must have determined our Election of a Sovereign to Him alone, there being nothing wanting in Him that the severest Censors of Princes do number among the Requisites of a compleat Monarch. It was therefore the wonder of those who conceive every man to be the Artificer of His own Fortune, how it came to pass that He had not that *avturyay*, an uninterrupted current of Success (which some men reckon among the constitutives of Happiness) in all His Enterprises. To Others that impute all our affairs here below to an inviolable Method of the Decrees of Heaven, which yet they acknowledge just, though dark, it seemed one of the Riddles of Providence, that a King of so great Vertues should yet be calamitous: for let Posterity judge how great and how good this Prince was, that could not be ruined even after a War (which usually embitters the Spirits of those that are molested by it) and a total Overthrow (whose common Con-

sequent

quent is Contempt) but by so various and such wicked Arts; and was judged by all men, though He wanted, yet to *deserve Prosperity* (as to humane judgment,) which (as some think) *is the truest Happiness.*

To these Doubts there appears no Resolution so obvious as that into the Pleasure of the Divine Majesty, who provoked by our sins, which had profaned his Mercies, and abused the Peace and Plenty he gave us, would chastise us by the scourge of Civil War, the corrective of too much felicity, and taking away the best of *Kings* leave us to the Pride and Violence of the basest of men. And that it was a wrath directed against us was apparent, because the misfortunes and fall of that incomparable *Prince* opened upon us an avenue for all those miseries that a Community is obnoxious unto in the want of a lawful Government, while the Almighty secured the Glory of the *King* even in His Sufferings, provided for the Support and Honour of the Royal Family in its lowest Estate, and miraculously preserved the Chief of it from innumerable dangers, and made us to see afterwards in the Series of his Providences, that he had not withdrawn his loving-kindness from the House of *King CHARLES*, by restoring it to its primitive Grandeur.

And this he was pleased to signifie to the King by a Passage that appeared little less than a Miracle. For while He was at Oxford, and the Earl of Southampton, now Lord

High-Treasurer of England,

A Presage of His Fall, and the future State of the Royal Family. (a Person of unquestionable Honour and Veracity, of an eminent Integrity, above the Flattery of Princes, who doth attest this Occurrence)

as Gentleman of the Bed-chamber lay one Night in the same Chamber with Him, the Wax Mortar, which according to Custom the King always had in His Chamber, was in the night, as they both conceived and took notice of it, fully extinguished. But my Lord rising in the Morning found it lighted, and said to the KING, *Sir, this Mortar now burns very clearly:* at which they both exceedingly wondred, fully concluding it had been out in the Night, and they could not imagine how any of the Grooms, or any other could possibly light it, the Door being locked with a Spring within. This busying the wonder of both for the present, the King afterwards when He saw the Malice of His Enemies press hard upon His Life and Ruine, reflecting upon this Occurrence, drew it into this Presage, *That though God would permit His Light to be*
extinguish'd

extinguished for a time, yet He would at last
light it again ; which was verified in the E-
vent : for though God suffered the Faction
to spill His blood, yet after many years of
Troubles, and when he had permitted those
Monsters to bring us to the brinks of de-
struction, he restored His Son to the Crown
in as much Splendour and Greatness as any
of His Predecessors.

As His Abilities for the Publick Administra-
tion of Government were all
apt to raise Admiration ; so His *His Recrea-*
Recreations and Privacies gave *tions.*
a Delight to such as commu-
nicated in the sight of them, and there need-
ed no more to beget an Honour of Him
than to behold Him in His Diversions, which
were all serious, and there was no part of
His time which either wanted benefit, or de-
served not Commendation. In His younger
dayes, His pleasures were in Riding, and
sometimes in breaking the great Horse ; and
He did it so gracefully, that He deserved that
Statue of Brasse which did represent Him on
Horse-back. Besides this, He delighted in
Hunting, an active and stirring Exercise to
accustom Him to toils, and harden that body
whose mind abhorred the softness of *Luxury*
and *Ease*, which *Vicious Princes think a part*
of Power, and the Rewards of Publick Cares :

but He used this as the way whereby the Antient Heroes were habituated to Labours, and by contending with some beasts in Strength and others in Swiftnes, first to rout, then to chase their flying Enemies. When the season of the year did not permit this sport, then Tennis, Gough, Bowls were the way of His Diversions, and in all these He was wonderfully active and excellent.

His softer pleasures were Books, and of His time spent in these there were many Monuments. In His Library at Saint James's there was kept a Collection of His, of the excellent Sayings of Authors, written with His own hand, and in his Youth, presented to His Father *King JAMES*: and there is yet extant in the hands of a Worthy Person, His Extracts written with His own hand, out of My Lord of *Canterbury's* Book against *Fisher*, of all the Arguments against the Papists, digested into so excellent a Method, that He gave Light and Strength to them even while He did epitomise them into a sheet or two of Paper. The same Care and Pains He had bestowed in reading the most Judicious *Hooker*, and the Learned Works of Bishop *Andrews*, out of all which He had gathered whatsoever was excellent in them, and fitted them for His ready use. When He was tired with Reading, then He applied Himself

self to Discourse, wherein He both benefited Himself and others; and He was good at the Relation of a Story, or telling of an Occurrence. When these were tedious by continuance, He would either play at Chess, or please Himself with His Pictures, of which He had many choice pieces of the best Masters, as *Titian, Rafael, Tintoret* and others, with which He had adorned His most frequented Palaces, as also with most antique pieces of Sculpture; so that to those that had travelled it seemed that *Italy* was Translated to His Court.

As His Spirit was thus accomplished, so His Body had its Elegancies. His Stature was of a just height, *The Features of His Body.* rather decent than tall; His Body erect, and not enclining to a Corpulency, nor meager, till His Afflictions wrought too strongly upon it to a Leanness; His Limbs exactly proportioned, His Face full of Majesty, and His Brow large and Fair: His Eyes so quick and piercing, that they went farther than the Superficies of men, and searched their more Inward parts; for at the first sight He would pass a judgment upon the frame of a Man's Spirit and Faculties, and He was not often mistaken, having a strange happiness in Physiognomy, and by reason of this He would remember
any

any one He had seen but once many years after. His Complexion was enclining to a Paleness, His Hair a brown, which He wore of a moderate length, ending in gentle and easie curles: upon His left side He indulged one Lock to a greater length in the youthful part of His Life. His Beard He wore pick-
qued, but after the Faction had passed those *Votes of No Addresses*, He permitted it to grow neglectedly, and to cover more of His face. His Gestures had nothing of affectation, but full of Majestick Gravity. His motions were speedy, and His gate fast: which shewed the Alacrity and Vigour of His Mind, for His Affections were temperate. He was of a most healthful Constitution, and after the infirmities of His Childhood was never sick. Once He had the small Pox; but the Malignity of it was so small, that it altered not His Stomach, nor put Him to the abstinence of one Meal, neither did it detain Him above a fortnight under the Care of His Physicians

His Children.

He was the Father of Four Sons and Five Daughters.

1. *Charles James*, born at *Greenwich* on Wednesday, *May 13. 1628.* but died almost as soon as born, having been first Christned.

2. *Charles*

2. *Charles Duke of Cornwall and Prince of Wales*, born at *Saint James's*, May 29. 1630. whom, after a fellowship in the *Sufferings* of His Father, some brave, but unsuccessful, attempts to recover the Rights of His Inheritance, and twelve years various fortune abroad, God was pleased by a wonderful Providence, without blood or ruine, to conduct to His Native Throne, and make Him the Restorer of Peace to a People wearied and wasted, almost to a Desolation, by several changes of Government and Variety of reproachful Usurpers, that they became the Scorn of Neighbouring Nations, and the miserable Example of a disquiet Community, so torn in pieces by Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church; each party mutually aimed to suppress its contrary, and destroy the publick, that it was impossible for them to re-unite or consent in common to seek the benefits of Society, until they had submitted to Him as to the common Soul, to be governed by Him in the paths of Justice. He is now (and long may He be so) our Dread Sovereign *CHARLES II.*

3. *James*, born in the same place *Octob. 13. Anno 1633.* entituled Duke of *Tork* by His Majesty's Command at His Birth, and afterwards so Created. He was a Companion of
His

His Brother in Exile, spending His time abroad both in the *French* and *Spanish* Camps with Glory, and returned with Him into *England*.

4. *Henry Duke of Gloucester*, born in the same place *July 8. 1639.* who after the Death of His Father was by the *Paricides* permitted to go beyond Sea to His Mother, with the promise of an Annual Pension, which they never intended to pay: A very hopeful Prince, who resisted the strong practices of some in the *Queen's Court* to seduce Him to the Church of *Rome*, which His Brother hearing sent for Him into *Flanders*; and He also attended Him to His Throne, but not long after died of the Small Pox, *Sept. 13. Anno 1660.*

5. *Mary*, born on *Novemb. 4. Anno 1631.* married to Count *William of Nassau*, Eldest Son to *Henry Prince of Orange*, by whom she was left a Widow, and a short time after the Mother of the now Prince of *Orange*; and coming over to visit her Brothers and the place of her Nativity, she died also of the Small Pox, *Decemb. 24. Anno 1660.*

6. *Elizabeth*, born *Jan. 28. Anno 1635.* who survived her Father, but lived not to see the Restoring the Royal Family, dying at *Carisbrook* the place of her Father's Captivity, being

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being removed thither by the Murtherers, that the place might raise a grief to end her Days.

7. *Anne*, born *March 17. Anno 1637.* died before her Father.

8. *Katharine*, who died almost as soon as born.

9. *Henrietta*, born at *Exeter June 16. Anno 1644.* in the midst of the Wars, conveyed not long after by the *Lady Dalkeith* into *France* to her Mother, and is now married to the Duke of *Anjou*, only Brother to the King of *France*.

Having left this Issue He died in the forty ninth year of His Age, and 23. of His Reign, having lived Much rather than Long, and left so many great and difficult Examples as will busie Good Princes to imitate, and Bad ones to wonder at : A man in Office and mind like to that Spiritual Being, which the more men understand, the more they Admire and Love ; and that may be said of Him which was said of that Excellent Roman who sought Glory by Vertue,

*Homo Virtuti simillimus, & per omnia Ingenio
Diis quàm Hominibus propior : Qui nun-
quam*

*quam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur;
sed quia aliter facere non poterat: Cuique
id solum visum est Rationem habere quod
haberet Iustitiam. Omnibus humanis vitiis
Immunis semper in Potestate sua Fortunam
habuit. Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.*

M. S.

M. S.

Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, CAROLI Primi.

Siste, Viator ;

Luge, Obmutesce, Mirare :

Memento CAROLI ILLIUS

Nominis pariter & insignissimæ Pietatis PRIMI,

MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ILLIUS,

Qui Rebellium Perfidiâ primò deceptus,

Dein Perfidorum Rabie percussus,

Inconcussus tamen LEGUM & FIDEI DEFENSOR,

Schismaticorum Tyrannidi succubuit,

Anno

Salutis Humanæ MDCXLVIII,

Servitutis Britannicæ, } Primo,
Felicitatis Sux,

Coronâ Terrestris spoliatus, Cœlesti donatus.

Sed, Sileant perituræ Tabellæ :

Perlege RELIQUIAS verè Sacras CAROLINAS,

In Queis,

Ipsa Sui Iconem, Ære perenniorem,

vivaciùs exprimit

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

CAROLI Primi τῷ Μακα-
ρίῳ Epitaphium Ἐνδυναυλ-
λαβικόν.

Sistas sacrilegum Pedem, Viator,
Nè forsan temeres sacros sepulchri
Augusti Cineres. Repòstus hìc est
In Terræ Gremio Decor Stupórque
Humani Generis; Senex, & Infans;
Prudens scilicet Innocénsque Princeps:
Regni Præsidium, Ruina Regni;
Vitâ Præsidium, Ruina Morte.
Quem Regem potiùs, Patrémve dicam?
O Patrem priùs, & deinde Regem!
Regem quippe Sui, Patrémque Regni.
Hic Donúmque Dei, Deique Cura,
(Quem Vitâque refert, refértque Morte,)
Ringente Satanâ, Canente Cœlo,
Diro in Pegmate [Gloriæ Theatro]
Et Christi Cruce, Victor, & Securi
Baptistæ emicuit. Ruina Felix!
Quâ Divum Carolus secutus Agnum,
Et postliminio domum vocatus
Primævæ Patriæ fit Inquilinus.

} Sic Lucis priùs Hesperus Cadentis
} Resplendet modò Phosphorus Reverſæ.

Hic

Epitaphium.

Hic Vindex Fidei sacer Vetustæ,
Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum,
Naturæ Typus absolutioris,
Fortunæ Domitor ferendo suæ;
Qui quantum Calicis bibit tremendi,
Tantundem sibi Gloriæ reportat;
Regum Maximus, unicûsque Regum,
In quo Res minima est, fuisse Regem.
Solutus, qui superâ locatus Arce
Vel Vitâ poterit frui priore.

Quum sint Reliquiæ, Cadaver, Umbra
Tam sacri Capitis vel ipsa sacra
Ipsis Eulogiis coinquinata,
Quæque ipsum Ἐυδὲκασίλλατον prophanat;
Sistas sacrilegum Pedem, Viator.

Tho. Pierce D. D. Coll. Magd. apud Oxon. Præses.

U

An

An EPI TAPH upon KING CHARLES.

SO falls that stately Cedar ; while it stood
That was the only glory of the Wood ;
Great Charles, thou earthly God, celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a span ;
Yet in that span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore :
Thy heavenly virtues Angels should rehearse,
It is a theme too high for humane Verse :
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're : which if he do, (too ;
Hee'l find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet
And sadly see our loss, and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call thee back again :
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verse.
Thy Suff'rings and thy Death let no man name,
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θεῶν, Παλαιῶν τε Νόμων, ὃς ἄριστος
Σκηπτεῦχος ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἑπαινέων χάριν ἀλητῆος

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